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The Editors
ONE YEAR
AFTER CAMP DAVID

ONE DOLLAR

SEPTEMBER 28, 1979

education issue

Busing: in the courts

WHERE DOES IT STAND TODAY?
MAURICE DeG. FORD

Busing: in the classrooms

A REPORT FROM CHICAGO
J.S. FUERST & JIM BERGSTROM

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Correspondence

Messiahs & majorities

Cambridge, Mass.

To the Editor: In his reply [July 6] to my remarks on a presidential candidate for 1980, Dennis O'Brien says he thinks I have misread the meaning of the silent majority (which he identifies with the Proposition 13 movement) and that I am looking for a messiah rather then a president (a "White Cross Knight who slayeth the dragon . . .").

The silent majority in America is the nearly 50 percent of the people who do not vote at all—either for or against the Proposition 13's or the amply-financed candidates for this or that office. My point is that what we lack in American politics today, what has driven so many people to abandon the enterprise completely, is a clear *political* expression of the real issues and counter-claims within our national life. We have our divisions—including class and regional ones—but not since the 1930s have these divisions been articulated with sufficient political clarity that voters thought it worth a walk to the polls. A candidate who would genuinely politicize the angers and resentments of the unemployed, the old, the minorities—as well as the increasingly class-conscious American working man and woman—would serve to inject some vitality into our electoral system.

Who is the silent majority? One part of it is the tragically large number of black citizens who do not vote. Of fifteen million eligible black adults in the USA today, only one out of three is registered. Of this one third, only 35 percent vote. In other words, twelve out of fifteen black voters are silent. No one can convince me this is some hidden conservative majority. It is a minority correctly sensing that its real interests are not included in the present definition of issues. The same is true for millions of other potential voters.

Now regarding messiahs. Since as an orthodox Christian I believe the Messiah has already come, I am not looking for another one. Or for a dragon-slaying Knight. Rather, I am looking for a candidate who will define and dramatize the genuine conflicts in American society. Television meditations on faith in America in which we are instructed to share—rich and poor alike—in a crisis for which only the nasty OPEC nations bear the blame—plaster over both the genuine class divisions within which a shortage is felt and the frightening power of the oil companies, which although every poll shows the average American knows about and resents, the President seems increasingly reticent to mention.

A presidential candidate who discards both moralizing and image-making and channels the real antagonisms of the nation into genuine political options might not—it is true—win on the first try. But such a candidacy would start something moving again in America, something that once produced a Jackson and an FDR and might have made Robert Kennedy a qualitatively different kind of president. In all these instances it was not some mystical charisma which gave their candidacies significance but the *new electoral constituencies* they mobilized. Unless we get something like this soon, the decisions we face will either be made in carpeted boardrooms or fought out on hot streets. We need a candidate with a program that will politicize our divisions making real use of the democratic mechanism which, although it was created to resolve them, has been ignored by more and more people until it threatens to atrophy.

HARVEY COX
Thomas Professor of Divinity
Harvard University

More on silence

New London, Conn.

To the Editors: More of our thoughtful laity for whom and with whom we celebrants offer Eucharist ought to articulate their needs for the mystery of silence in the Christian assembly.

I am making sure that J. Patrick Dobel's "Liturgical Silence" [Aug. 3] gets into the hands of all our lectors who are now more or less accustomed to making cautious gestures in favor of silence after the responsorial psalm as well as after the second reading. They will enjoy such a well-defined case for silence.

With my praise declared, let me add two further notes which may prove somewhat critical of Professor Dobel's assumptions.

When he quotes article 48 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, I think he may be forcing the text. For the important words are *strangers* and *spectators*. The word *silent* is not the point of that article. Further, to be silent is a human activity; for me it takes a discipline or action within my psyche. This hard work even takes courage. I'd like to call that kind of effort "active participation" in the mystery of in-dwelling in my center space to make play and praise for the living God.

Moreover, a healthy silence created among the assembly—that is, a social silence—is a marvelous communitarian witness to the silence within and among the Persons of God. Silence is creative work for all.

I fault not the documents of liturgical reform but the mechanical rubricists who cannot translate the inherent values of council and reform documents into the texture of parochial life and practice.

My second general thought. Professor Dobel's service for us is a highly developed philosophical approach to the mystery of silence. That's very necessary. However, I think to capture the imagination of our folk today we need to also develop an anthropology of silence. Some might call this an attempt to do a psychology of silence, but I prefer to widen the notion of psychology to anthropology because this allows a philosophical critique of contemporary

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ONE YEAR AFTER CAMP DAVID

WHO IS in charge of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East? Chief negotiator Robert S. Strauss? Secretary of State Cyrus Vance? Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security advisor? Strauss has won one round in the struggle for dominance, but the lines of authority are not yet clear. The diplomatic confusion that results from this state of affairs cannot long be tolerated, for it seems clear that Egypt and Israel need a strong U.S. lead if they are to make any progress in their talks over the future of Palestinians.

As blacks, among others, grow more critical of Israel in the wake of the Andrew Young affair, Israeli hard-liners grow increasingly critical of the U.S., echoing the charges made by Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon in June. At that time the foremost hard-line member of Israel's government charged that the United States was "gravely imperiling the peace achievements in the Middle East" by what he said was its desire to establish a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This was immediately denied by the State Department, citing President Carter's statement that "we've never espoused an independent Palestinian state." Nonetheless, Mr. Sharon was quoted as expressing his conviction "that we cannot, under any circumstances, reach understanding with the Americans" on the issue of autonomy for the more than one million Arabs who live in the West Bank and Gaza.

That is one side of the picture. On the other stands the Palestinian Liberation Organization, guns at the ready. Said a PLO spokesman: "We will force the United States to recognize us. Without the Palestinian Liberation Organization there is not going to be any peace in the Middle East." And many Middle East experts believe that analysis to be quite accurate.

Exacerbating this already dangerous situation is Israel's settlement policy. One of the most provocative examples of this policy was the recent official Israeli permission for a militant Jewish group to settle on land taken over from the Arabs in a very sensitive area near the Arab city of Nablus, a center of Palestinian nationalism. The United States said the move was "harmful to the peace process" and, coming at this time, was particularly "regrettable." The American position has always been that such settlements in occupied territory are illegal under international law, an interpretation disputed by the Israelis. Israel has the right to build such settlements on the West Bank, said Prime Minister Begin, "since this is our land." Denouncing foreign and domestic critics of the settlement policy, he said, "We shall pay no attention." Interestingly enough, it was the Nablus settlement that led 59 prominent American Jewish leaders to direct a strong protest on Israeli settlement policy to Prime Minister Begin.

The potential explosiveness of the current Middle Eastern situation was well illustrated by the recent dogfight between Israeli and Syrian warplanes over Lebanon. The Mid East's first aerial encounter in five years, this is the kind of thing that

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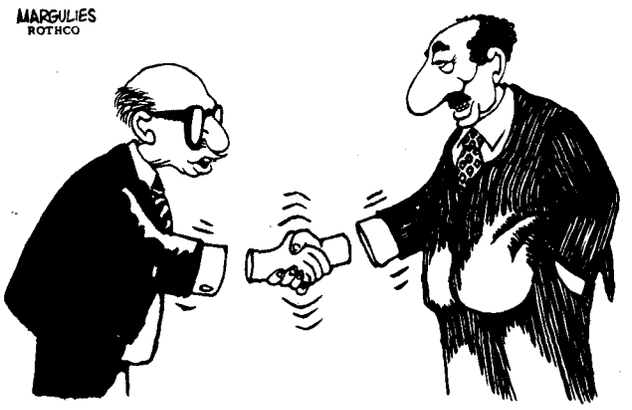

could trigger a major war. And at the root of the airborne conflict was Israel's continuing attacks on Palestinian bases in Lebanon, a fact which only underlines again that there can be no peace in the Middle East without a solution to the Palestinian problem.

At this point it must be said that Prime Minister Begin and the Israeli government are doing little toward a solution to the problem. One would think that Israel would be interested in helping to strengthen the position of Egypt's President Sadat, its only Arab ally. Instead, ever since Camp David Israel has seemed to do everything possible to embarrass and hurt him with his Arab neighbors. Present Israeli plans call for the settlement of 200,000 more people in the occupied territory over the next five years, and the newest Israeli move in this direction has been the ending of a 12-year-old regulation prohibiting Israeli citizens and businesses from buying land in the occupied territories. The implication is strong that Israel intends to continue the occupation of the West Bank indefinitely, one way or the other. At Camp David, Menachem Begin agreed to "full autonomy" for the West Bank and further agreed to the withdrawal of the Israeli military government and its civilian administration. Yet Israel now says that autonomy applies only to people and not to territory and insists that it continue to control land, water, settlement policies and a host of other issues. Government policy seems to imply either annexation of Arab land at will or indefinite occupation. When autonomy is so defined, is it any wonder that Palestinian moderates find it impossible to join the negotiating process? Significantly, in their most recent meeting President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin had no trouble settling the Sinai policing issue and the question of oil sales to Israel, but they made no progress at all on the issue of Palestinian autonomy.

In the light of all this, it may make little difference whether Robert Strauss, Secretary Vance or Zbigniew Brzezinski emerges as the top man in the current Middle East negotiations. A major United States initiative will be necessary to alter Israel's current hard-line stance, and for this a new intervention by President Carter himself may well be required. Somehow a formula must be found that satisfies the need for Palestinian self-determination while at the same time protecting Israel's basic security. That will not be easy, but nothing less will do.

ATROCITIES & SILENCE

From time to time *Commonweal* accepts an article for publication, has it set in type, schedules it for one issue after another, but repeatedly sees it "bumped" for lack of space until events finally render the piece outdated. Whenever that occurs, author and editors alike are disappointed.

One exception is an article sent us last spring by freelance reporter Randall Fegley. Fegley's report was on Equatorial Guinea, a tiny country with a population about the size of Dayton, Ohio's. For the last decade, Equatorial Guinea has suffered under one of the world's most brutal dictatorships. "By the end of 1974," Fegley reported, "more than two-thirds of the members of the 1968 Parliament had died or 'disappeared.' " Various political figures were "jailed, killed, exiled and tortured." The wife of a man who was "suicided" in a suspicious fall from a window was herself publicly tortured. Another political leader died of thirst in jail; still another, of gangrene after his eyes were gouged out. Villages of offending personages were burnt.

The island of Fernando Po, one of the two Spanish colonies that were combined into Equatorial Guinea, was particularly victimized. "In 1972 the Nigerian work force that had migrated to harvest the cocoa crop on Fernando Po was evacuated after gross allegations of mistreatment. Their locally-born wives were not allowed to accompany them, and . . . militia opened fire on the returnees. To replace the Nigerians, between 20,000 and 25,000 Rio Munians were arrested and sent to the island as forced labor. Since then over a quarter of Equatorial Guinea's population has fled to Cameroun and Gabon. The island peoples have been unable to flee." In fact, they were even "forbidden to go near the shores to prevent escapes."

The Catholic church was also a special object of terror. Clerics were killed and exiled. Virtually all church activities were restricted to the point of prohibition. The man under whom all this was proudly accomplished was Francisco Macias Nguema.

Last August the Macias regime was overthrown. Mr. Fegley's article had been overtaken by events, and for once we couldn't have been happier. Yet there was still an important lesson in what he had written. Why had all governments and international bodies been so complacent about a regime that had killed one out of every ten people in ten years? Spain, Mr. Fegley pointed out, still had cocoa concessions—for some years Madrid even banned news about Equatorial Guinea. "The French hold a forestry concession and contracts for Bata port. The United States . . . has petroleum and uranium exploration interests. China has supplied assistance and loans, as have Cuba, North Korea, Egypt, Sudan, West Germany, Switzerland and Sweden. The USSR has generous fishing rights. The United Nations agencies have said little. . . . The OAU has provided aid, but refused to act."

Now that Equatorial Guinea's junior Idi Amin has been deposed, perhaps that land will be released from terror and

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bloodshed to face the more "normal" hardships of a backward economy. It is, unfortunately, too soon to tell. It is not too soon to note again how tempting it is for the world to look the other way when atrocities have no ideological or geopolitical significance, when they are "only" atrocities.

FINDING OF THE WEEK

DUBLIN (RNS) — Ninety-two percent of the parents of children in Christian Brothers' schools in Ireland approve of corporal punishment (spanking).

We thought you'd like to know.

NEW EDITORS

Joining *Commonweal* this week as assistant editors are two new staff members:

- Daniel M. Murtaugh, with degrees from Holy Cross and Yale, formerly on the English faculties at Manhattanville College, Northwestern University and Boston University, author of *Piers Plowman and the Image of God* and various scholarly articles, whose first contribution to *Commonweal* was published in 1969;
- David Toolan, S.J., with degrees from Fordham, Georgetown and Southern Methodist, for the last nine years assistant professor of theology at Canisius College in Buffalo, where he was active in ecumenical work, adult education and such groups as the Harrisburg Defense Committee, contributor to *Theological Studies* and *Commonweal*, in which his first published work appeared in 1973.

World Council conference

SCIENCE, FAITH & FUTURE

ECUMANIA AT M.I.T.

WHO: Probably the largest and certainly the most impressive accumulation of scientists and religious types ever assembled, including 313 delegates, 210 accredited observers, 199 staff, 145 press, from 59 countries, 40 Christian churches, give or take a church or two, including the Roman Catholic, and a scattering of Jews, Muslims, Buddhists and some with no visible sign of religious support.

WHAT: A conference sponsored by the Church and Society Department of the World Council of Churches on the subject of "Faith, Science and the Future" with a view to the creation of "a just, participatory and sustainable society," a goal staked out by the WCC's last General Assembly at Nairobi, Kenya, in 1975.

Footnote: "Just" is an old term, "participatory" a newer term that is preferred in WCC circles to the more ambiguous "democratic," and "sustainable" is the newest term, arising out of the debate over limits of growth, oil, nuclear energy, etc.

WHEN: July 12-24, 1979. I asked an exhausted delegate what kind of training should one undertake for a 13-day-and-night conference. He replied, "These ecumaniacs are always in training." Later I read on the *Wallnewspaper* outside the conference hall a definition of ecumania: "an acute mental disorder affecting respectable and leisurely individuals" whose symptoms include "hallucinations of church unity" and "a tendency to escape terrestrial reality by constantly flying over continents and oceans." Most of those present were evidently not ecumaniacs—they looked pretty beat by July 24.

WHERE: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The *Wallnewspaper*, which served as outlet for anger, frustration and outrageous humor, commented, "Holding a conference on faith and science at MIT is like holding a conference on disarmament at the Pentagon." However, the accommodations were excellent, and some of the best speakers were from the MIT faculty.

WHY: A woman speaker, Kerstin Aner, Sweden's Under-Secretary of State, put it as well as anybody, "Science has always been magic. . . . It has promised to provide exactly the same things that magic did: the means to power, riches, and love. . . . People, however, also used to be scared of their magicians. They did not trust their intentions. . . . After a century of blind trust in good white magicians we have discovered the cloven hoof again."

But most of the scientists present were already aware of the cloven hoof and were looking, almost pleading, for some kind of exorcism, some kind of grace, salvation, *help* from the apostles of theology. The latter too were mostly more humble about their own failings and ignorance via-à-vis science. There was no hint of the religion-vs.-science debate. In some observations made after the meeting Max Stackhouse of Andover-Newton Theological School pointed out that the kind of theology sought by many at the conference was "not the theology which is most visible in leading theological circles. 'Confessional' theology and 'dogmatic' theology were largely ignored—as were those modes of theology which draw on linguistic analysis, literary criticism and sociology of knowledge. If anything, people seemed to be in search of a new 'natural theology' with spiritual depth, one sufficiently convincing to the mind that it reaches the soul."

There was also much anger, particularly from representatives of the Third World, who numbered almost 40 percent. Some of their reaction was so angry that it approached unreason. About 60 of them, roughly half, issued a written statement that "we denounce science and technology." Later rewritten, it read, "We denounce the use of science and technology by industrialized and technically advanced societies to serve military and economic interests which have brought great sufferings to the people of the Third World." Fair enough, but there were mutterings at the insistence that scientists "accept as the *sole* purpose of their work the alleviation of

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misery of the poor and oppressed." [emphasis added]

The anger surfaced on the first day. Robert Brown, professor of astronomy at the University of Sydney, Australia, had been saying nice things about the scientific ideals of (a) universalism, (b) communalism, (c) disinterestedness and (d) organized skepticism.

Rubem Alves, the angriest of the spokesmen for the Third World, a professor of philosophy from Brazil and a pre-Guttierez theologian of liberation, commented on Brown's presentation, "This is like the lamb describing a wolf without reference to its eating habits." Alves was partial to analogies from the animal kingdom. At one point he described technology as a dragon to be killed and at another remarked that the eyes of tigers are in the front of their heads and the eyes of deer on the side, appropriately for the hunters and the hunted, the rich and the poor nations.

Alves saw no hope in Christian charity and visibly struggled with a temptation to vulgarity when he cried out, "Let's stop the pious Christian talk about sharing." He said that he could offer "no solution," but later told me that "what we need is bigger and better OPECs," since the only way the poor nations will get justice is to join together and force it from the rich ones. The Reinhold Niebuhr who wrote *Moral Man and Immoral Society* would have understood the problem, and millions of workers who have learned the hard way that in union there is strength would have agreed with the solution.

Other actions and statements:

• A small group of students, led by Rudy Prudente, son of a Filipino college president who has been in jail since 1972 for anti-Marcos activity, shook up the Wellesley conference and then the MIT conference with similar bombshells: "The chairs in the plenary hall might as well be filled with cabbages. . . . Most of us still lust after the fleshpots of the technological Egypt. . . . It is imperative to include in such conferences school dropouts, more women, minorities, youth, unemployed, factory workers, laborers and farmers. . . . It is time we listened to the voice of the oppressed so that we do not offer improved health care to the poor when the technology they really want in order to achieve self-determination is guns to protect themselves from people like us."

• Jonathan King, an articulate young professor of microbiology at MIT, led a successful move to change the agenda and demand an end to the nuclear arms race, which was unanimously done. SALT II was supported but a resolution on unilateral disarmament lost after a Russian said he would support it if Third World countries would quit buying arms at the expense of development and liberation theologians would turn their attention to this problem. King voted against a conference motion to hold scientists accountable for the uses to which their research is put by government and industry, but in his public address he warned against the so-far successful effort of big business to exploit new discoveries and avoid government controls in the genetic field.

• The debate over nuclear energy was probably the hottest. Another MIT professor, David Rose, an Episcopalian nuclear physicist, supported by Archbishop Kirill of Leningrad ("Russia has to import oil"), led the opposition to a moratorium on the use and construction of nuclear plants. Over a third of the delegates either voted against a moratorium or abstained. Though strongly in favor of full-speed-ahead on solar energy, Rose insisted that nuclear was necessary in the interim and probably less dangerous than fossil and biomass fuels.

• The strongest opposition to abortion came from the Orthodox delegates and the final recommendation was reworded to call only for a continuing study of the problems arising from "abortion of genetically defective fetuses" as well as artificial insemination.

• Almost without exception the Russian delegates said nothing that would have made Brezhnev uncomfortable. Most of the Russian delegates were priests. A scientist from Yugoslavia was more free with Marxist self-criticism. Five scientists from the USSR did not come after a negative decision by the Russian Academy of Science.

• C.T. Kurien, director of the Madras Institute for Development, scored when he pointed out that "India and the U.S. have two things in common, a participatory politics and a non-participatory economics, and in both countries the economic system has proven more powerful than the political."

Since all parties quickly agreed that science and technology were putty in the hands of government and transnational business, I began early looking for some saving word on how to get a more participatory handle on these powerhouses that would, in turn, mold them to some sustainable kind of justice. A wall poster in the lobby told us that previous conferences of the WCC had developed "a new economics beyond Marxism or capitalism." I listened in on a workshop section devoted to economics, hoping to hear what this might be. Frankly, I was reminded of the sermon of Bishop Habgood of Durham, England, at the Sunday service, with Cardinal Medeiros and Archbishop Kirill listening behind him. He said, "The trouble about conferences is the multitude of words: fine words, moving words. . . . But the reality I suspect we are most conscious of is ignorance and confusion." A visit to the politics section further proved his point.

The final reports of the sections were more impressive than the discussions. Those dealing with theology and ethics were surely beyond Marxism and capitalism. A section on industrial environment reported, "Literally every reference about TNC's [transnational corporations] during this conference was unfavorable. . . . Do the men and women who lead or work in TNC's constitute a special type of being? . . . And if they are so much worse, it follows that we are so much better. Are we?" Maybe yes, maybe no. Maybe the fault lies neither in our stars nor in ourselves, but in our structures. The report did not, however, effectively pursue this line.

The economics section report recommended "the breakup of large national and international business organizations engaged in monopoly practices and political manipulation." An Englishman complained that this would include the British Coal Board. A Russian delegate was unhappy. "Privately owned" was inserted, but nothing was said as to what should

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replace these organizations other than it should be, one more time, "just, participatory and sustainable." The vote, with many delegates departed, was 83 for, 15 against, and 45 abstaining. This was a high for abstentions. The vote could be said to be an uncertain vote either for socialism or an international Clayton Anti-Trust Act that really works.

In a post-mortem on the conference, Rustum Roy, a physical chemist and chairman of the Science, Technology and Society Program at Pennsylvania State University, told me, "Let's face it, in the postwar era the separation between church and science-technology has been so great it could be mistaken for divorce. Science and technology have become the functional deity for most of Western humanity." Roy proposed that this notion be tested by trying two questions on a national sample of Catholics:

1. If the scientific community clearly agreed that X was true, while the pope and the church ruled that it was false, would you *act* as though X were true, or false?

2. If the scientific community clearly agreed that such-and-such pleasurable behavior was good (or at least not harmful) for you, but the bishops ruled it wrong, would you try it, or abstain? Roy, an Episcopalian, thought the U.S. Catholic bishops should set up "a task force on Christians and science-technology." (Except for Cardinal Medeiros, Catholic delegates at MIT, including Vatican officials, were pretty non-participatory.) Roy was once chairman of such a group for the National Council of Churches, but notes, not exactly encouragingly, "It has not met for a dozen years."

At least the MIT conference reintroduced these aging divorcees, science and religion. The grounds for reconciliation were cleared, if not entirely smoothed.

JOHN C. CORT

(*John C. Cort is editor of the newsletter* Religion and Socialism.)

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

SEPTEMBER AND SCHOOL

THE TRUE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR

SEPTEMBER, if you say it over and over, has a lovely sound. It is a lovely month. All over the country the weather is crisp and pleasant. Goldenrod, Fireweed, and Queen Anne's Lace still line the sides of the road; there is just a touch of scarlet at the top of the maples and an occasional yellow leaf drifting from the locust trees.

For most Americans it is the true beginning of the year, the month when school starts. The memories come rushing back to those of us who liked going to school or who liked teaching. We feel a lifting of the heart, a sense of new beginnings. The memories come rushing back—of newly varnished desks, waxed corridors, stacks of new books, bulletin boards with fresh displays, reunions with friends and excited talk of the summer past and the year to come. School held both the comfort of the familiar and the possibility of the new. For most of us it was the center of community.

"Oh, oh, oh," said the checker in the supermarket making conversation with the little boy in line just ahead of me, "First grade this year? You'll have to go to school all day." The boy's face lit up. "I can hardly wait," he said. His first experience had, obviously, been good, and the reports of school from family and friends had also been good.

Despite the mounting evidence of the failure of our schools, reports of what the schools can be, have been, and, in most cases, still are, keep coming in. Bright reports filter through the general gloom. There was one, for example, in the otherwise dull and formless pastiche of that Barbara Walters summer special which caught many of us, mindless and too lethargic to do anything but watch, during that muggy week which bridged July and August this summer. Clint Eastwood, movie great, talked of this and that, as unclear of what his interviewer wanted as were the viewers. But his face lit up like the little boy's when he was asked what he would like to be, if he had not become Clint Eastwood, star. He would have liked, he said, to have been a teacher. A teacher had the possibility of being the single greatest influence in any person's life. A teacher had been that for him.

There was James Michener in an interview, testifying to the power of the schools to change lives. An orphan in dire poverty, he had been given the prospect and possibility of limitless upward mobility by his schools. The schools had been the agent of mobility for countless Americans, he said.

And I was reminded of the fact that whole communities and populations have been changed by the schools. When the Mesabi Iron Range was opened at the turn of the century, a veritable flood of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe poured into the hitherto sparsely settled region. An unusually wise tax law reserved the taxes on the mines for education. The schools of the Mesabi Range became famous for the splendid physical plants, libraries and good salaries with which they attracted some of the best teachers in the state. Schools were open night and day in order to help the adults of more than forty different nationalities and as many languages and dialects—many illiterate—learn to read and write English and prepare for their citizenship examinations. In one generation the children of men and women who, as some of them used to reminisce, grew up in earthen-floored huts, were out of high school, on to college and into the professions.

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Bad schools and bad teachers have, nevertheless, done great harm, as Jonathan Kozol's horrifying *Death At An Early Age* forcibly reminded us. For the last ten years or more we have accepted two contradictory views of what the schools can do. On the one hand, by such means as forced busing, we have sought to use them to remedy our worst social ills. On the other, influenced by such educators as Christopher Jencks and James Coleman, those who are concerned with education have come to believe that schools in poor neighborhoods can do little for the students until the neighborhoods are changed. Mr. Jencks is frequently quoted: "Variations in what children learn at a school depend largely on variations in what they bring to school, not on variations in what schools offer them."

For a variety of reasons teachers have lost status and there seem to be many incompetent among them. (Michener takes the arguable stance that many of the unfit came into the profession to avoid the draft.) Certainly some graduates from even the best schools do them little credit. "I heard it *vicariously*," said a graduate in English from Haverford to me recently, meaning, I suppose, *indirectly*. A student from Ohio Wesleyan planning to be a writer, when asked what contemporary writers he read or admired, could only think of Thomas B. Costain. And a graduate of a well-known Pennsylvania college, now teaching writing, talked to me of "the, you know, relationship between he and I." (And how many there are who will think it picky to mention these things! What does mastery of your language and literature matter if your heart is in the right place about, let us say, South Africa? Only that they indicate a lack of curiosity and an imperviousness to information that may apply in the latter case as well.)

Yet on the lower level there are teachers who keep trying and caring and making a difference. "I've enjoyed teaching," a man in a junior high school where forty percent of the students are Hispanics said to a Boston reporter. He told of a student he had taught ten years ago now going to medical school and of students selected by some of the nation's best college preparatory schools—"triumphs," he felt for an inner city school. A woman teacher thought that her seventh and eighth grade students welcomed challenge, and that teaching had met her expectations of helping them to a better life beyond the classroom.

Such good teachers deserve good schools. Moreover, a heartening British study, "Fifteen Thousand Hours," proves that good teachers in good schools *can* make great differences in children's lives. The general tone of the place is the deciding factor. The findings showed that the effects of the schools depended on their effectiveness as social organizations. School A drawing from the same kind of poor children with behavior problems as School B reduced the behavior problems to 10 percent in four years, and at the same time, brought the children originally in the bottom rank in aptitude tests to a point at which they did as well in final examinations as did the top rank of School B. School A had classes which began on time, teachers who gave praise and expected success, and teachers who planned with and supported each other.

Contrary to the pessimistic scholarly reports on this side of the water this is what we Americans really hope for from our schools and that we have always believed possible—especially in September.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

Of several minds: *John Garvey*

THE UGLY LITTLE SECRET

ANTI-CATHOLICISM, WITH QUALIFICATIONS

AN OLD QUARREL has been revived, and it's about time. Until rather recently you'd have thought that anti-Catholicism was a dead issue; Vatican II and Kennedy's election were thought to have done it in. Catholics, settling into the general American bland, began to cast an envious eye on blacks and Jews and then, *deus ex machina* (the *machina* being the one rolled out by Andrew Greeley and Michael Novak), came the ethnic issue: the realization dawned on a lot of Catholics that Wasps still wouldn't have us on our terms. This wasn't paranoia; Greeley gives details in *An Ugly Little Secret: Anti-Catholicism in North American.*

As if this weren't favor enough, along came the abortion controversy and the stuffy assumption, so reminiscent of the Prohibition era, that opposition to abortion was a Romanist plot. Whether the abortion issue was the main uncorking agent or not I don't know, but it became permissible once again to use their Catholicism against writers and politicians who weren't quite in tune with Right Thinking.

There were, for example, ugly references to Michael Harrington's inability to unshackle himself from his Catholic past in a *Chicago Tribune* review of *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor*. The argument of the reviewer was that any sense of shame which comes from comparing your own affluence to the starvation of another is not a simple recognition of the facts, but must be the result of education at the hands of nuns—all that guilt, you know.

A more recent *Tribune* review by Mitchell S. Ross, of Garry Wills's *Confessions of a Conservative*, characterizes Wills as both a skillful artist and a "squirming seminarian" whose columns are "reminiscent of Jesuit schoolmasters with intolerable breath." If bad breath isn't sin enough—and what could be worse in our era?—this "diabolical dialectician" (still Wills) is also accused of raising "his Jesuitical horns." Images that just happen to leap to mind. In *Mother Jones*, at the end of a review of Barbara Grizutti Harrison's fascinating Book, *Visions of Glory: A History and a Memory of Jehovah's Witnesses*, the

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normally perceptive Joe Klein compares Harrison with Alfred Kazin (also under review) and finds her wanting: "She becomes a Catholic. She manages to skip right past the Church's brutal history as a force for repression and ignorance in the world. . . . Barbara Harrison would have us believe the Church has given her the security to doubt safely, and she has achieved a state of grace. Even if that were true, I suspect that a super-rationalist like Alfred Kazin would be only mildly envious." Probably, but beside the point, even if Klein's reduction of Harrison's thought were accurate, and it isn't. This is the rhetoric of prejudice, which allows an ordinarily careful writer to slip into the comfortable cadences of a received idea: what can Klein mean by "a force for ignorance and repression in the world"? As a survivor of sixth and seventh grades at St. Agnes I know what he means about ignorance and repression; but where, outside the world, does he expect to find them? This is the kind of sentence that gets carried along by itself, a railroad train sentence which lets one word suggest another until a rhythm is exhausted, none of it having much to do with thought. It passes, because this is an acceptable prejudice. A similar generalization about international socialism wouldn't make it in *Mother Jones*, though it would have about the same degree of accuracy. When it's *your* side, you qualify.

And I will, right here. Anti-Catholicism is a prejudice with a difference. You can apply the easy liberal litmus test for prejudice (would you be bothered if the same thing were said about a black or a Jew?) a lot of the time. Some times it doesn't apply so easily, and it is those awkward times which make anti-Catholicism a unique phenomenon.

What makes the Catholic case different is that for a good hunk of our history ecclesiastical authorities acted under the assumption that the coercive powers available to them could be used for Christian purposes. While it is narrow of anti-Catholics to look only at the Crusades and the Inquisition, ignoring saints and countless acts of charity and heroism, Catholics can still be found who will wave away a lot of blood on St. Francis of Assisi's account, while humming a chorus of "That was all another place and time." It sure was. Both the orthodox St. Francis and the heretical Cathars knew that it was wrong to shed blood in the name of Christ. Many authoritative agents of the institutional church did not, and they killed the Cathars; in less favorable circumstances they might very well have killed Francis, as they killed Savonarola. A later, unbloody use of coercion—one with awful consequences—can be found in the history of the First Vatican Council. Before the Council Pius IX was busy excommunicating Catholic liberals who suggested that the papal States were not necessarily what the Gospel was about; when the Council ended, the dissent of some Catholics from the new doctrine of papal infallibility led only to a demand for submission, thanks to which we now have the Old Catholic Church. Lord Acton (whose "power tends to corrupt" was applied originally to a debate on the papacy) saw what an ungodly alliance Christianity and coercion made; after the First Vatican Council, during which he lobbied against the definition of papal infallibility, he lived an isolate life, and thought for a long time that he would be excommunicated.

A reliance on submission, external obedience and the appearance of order was a feature of Catholic life from the Council of Trent until the Second Vatican Council. (This is the church to which Lefebvre and other traditionalists are loyal.) The church had a much older underground life, which was not quite like the surface landscape; without the underground Vatican II wouldn't have happened. But I can't forget the fact intelligent adults once felt the need to ask priests for permission to read books on the Index. In some Catholic colleges Gide was read, if at all, only in order to see where he went wrong—it was assumed that nothing was to be learned there. The Catholic underground knew that the Index was nonsense and acted accordingly; nevertheless, people were hurt by this sort of thing, as they were by problems which weren't such in-house concerns—for example, the opposition by some Catholic leaders to child labor laws, the backing of anti-contraceptive legislation, and an attitude toward censorship (remember Cardinal Spellman's rage over *The Moon Is Blue*?) which was careless of civil liberties. During the Spanish Civil War the only American Catholic publications to oppose Franco were *Commonweal*, *The Catholic Worker* and, for a brief time, the *New World* of Chicago—two of them, significantly, under lay editorship.

It is this background which colors liberal opinion. Catholic opposition to abortion looks from one point of view like more of the same old thing, papists trying to push their opinions into law, though of course they are hardly the only group which tries to do that sort of pushing. It is too bad that this history has affected the way abortion is regarded, because the issue is much too important to degenerate into rhetoric, to allow us the luxury of reducing something as tragic as abortion to the size of a slogan. The issue is confused further by the inconsistency of most of the Catholic hierarchy on other life-related issues, like nuclear war and capital punishment. Bigotry does have a lot to do with the current acceptable anti-Catholicism; so, unfortunately, does much of the past Catholic record.

Any institution will have more than a few black spots after a couple of thousand years, especially wherever it allies itself with power. In view of the claims made by Catholicism, the black spots look even darker. To look only at the darkness is what bigots do, in the case of Catholicism, and they are helped along by those Catholics who see disloyalty in any criticism of the institution or its leaders. There is some truth in the statement that the church has acted as a force for ignorance and oppression, just as it would be true to say that socialism has given us gulags and the boat people. But having said either thing you are far from having said anything very important about either Catholicism or socialism. It is intellectually false to look at Torquemada as a representative Catholic, and then wonder where the hell Francis of Assisi, Teresa of Avila, Thomas More, Maximilian Kolbe, and John XXIII came from. JOHN GARVEY

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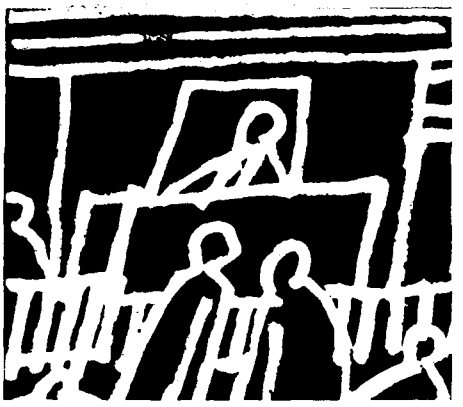
NOW THAT THE TUMULT & THE SHOUTING HAVE DIED



Busing & the courts

MAURICE DeG. FORD

LAST MAY marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. This fall marks the fifth anniversary of the implementation of Judge W. Arthur Garrity's ruling in the Boston school desegregation case. Both decisions are symbols of the federal judiciary's attempt to insist on the rule of law in the face of massive resistance.

Now the tumult and the shouting have died, considerably. Moreover, four events, occurring this spring and summer, seem to mark a decisive turning point in the Civil Rights movement. The *Weber* case, even more significant than *Bakke* because of its impact on labor, was decided in favor of affirmative action. The Court upheld system-wide busing in the Columbus and Dayton, Ohio cases. On July 24th, the House of Representatives defeated, by a vote of 216 to 209, a proposed constitutional amendment to ban court-ordered busing, with many Southern Congressmen joining the liberals. At the beginning of August, in almost a comical, last-gasp attempt to muster forces, 198 robed Klansmen were arrested as they reached the city limits of Montgomery, Alabama after a "white power" march from Selma attempting to "erase the shame to the white race" resulting from Martin Luther King's 1965 voting rights march. The debate open before the courts and the national legislature seemed finally to have been resolved in favor of the forces of liberalism and the rule of law.

Even the streets of South Boston and Charlestown are quiet. No longer does the Tactical Patrol Force of the police, dressed in riot gear and on motorcycles, roar down the streets protecting the buses from Roxbury. Busing, in fact, is hardly an issue in this year's mayoralty campaign in Boston. Almost only yesterday were buttons and banners shouting RESIST, NEVER!, SOUTHIE IS MY "ROOTS" and BUS JUDGES, NOT PEOPLE, everywhere. In 1975, residents of Beale Street in suburban Brookline, the birthplace of John F. Kennedy, awoke one morning to see emblazoned on the pavement, BUS TEDDY! Today he is everybody's favorite son for the presidency. Yet the Irish are seldom, even in times of protest, without their humor. One of the cleverest handbills passed out in South Boston saloons at the height of the anti-busing fervor, asked when would the busing end. Author unknown, it is entitled:

THE NEIGHBORHOOD TAVERN

"I'm sorry sir, but you can't come in here anymore."
"What do you mean CAN'T. I've been coming here for years.
"All I want is a beer."
"I'm sorry sir, but you have been re-assigned."
"Re-assigned? What the Hell are you talking about?"
"I'm really sorry sir, but if you want a beer you have to get it at the tavern to which you have been re-assigned."
"You're kidding!"
"No sir, but don't feel too badly about it. We have a bus to take you there and back."
"Hey, I want to drink with my friends, not a bunch of people I don't know."
"I'm sorry, but I really can't do anything about the situation.
"The State Board of Social Drinking, with the support of the Federal Board of Imbibers, has succeeded in getting a court ruling saying all taverns must be ethnically balanced."
"You mean there has to be a representative percentage of each ethnic group in every bar in the city?"
"Exactly."
"Where have I been assigned?"
"Well, let's see sir . . . Ah, here we are. Oh yes, Lim Ling Wong's Bar and Grille, in Chinatown."
"You mean that that poor fellow sitting over there at the bar had to be bused all the way from Chinatown, just to have a beer?"
"Yes sir, and if you think your plight is a rough one,

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that is Mr. Wong himself over there, the owner of your assigned tavern. The courts won't even let him get a drink in his own place."

"What's the idea of the whole court ruling?"

"Well sir, I think they refer to it as an attempt to promote quality social drinking."

"You mean they want the Scotch and water drinkers from one part of the city to rub shoulders with the beer drinkers from another part in order to help the beer drinkers to improve their drinking habits."

"Yes sir."

"Doesn't a man have the right to like beer drinking and thus have the right to choose beer drinking?"

"Not anymore sir."

"Does everybody approve of this law?"

"Oh no sir. We took a citywide vote asking people if they approved and the results showed 15 to 1 against it."

"Are the people doing anything to have the law changed?"

"Yes sir. A lot of people are boycotting the bars. But so far, they have been unsuccessful."

"I think it's a rotten shame that a guy can't have a drink in the tavern of his choice, here in America, a country whose very existence was predicated on basic freedoms. After all, didn't the Puritans come over here to escape religious harassment in search of FREEDOM?"

"You're right sir, but it seems that the very government of the people, for the people, and by the people that made this the greatest country in the world is trying its hardest, through the courts, to strip us of our alien rights."

"I guess rather than going all away across town by bus to have a beer, I'll just stop at the local package store and pick up a six pack."

AT THE PACKAGE STORE

"I'm sorry sir, I can't sell you a six pack, you've been assigned to a package store in Allston."

"You have to be kidding, . . . I'm going home."

SIGN ON THE FRONT DOOR . . .

"Sorry sir, you and your family have been re-assigned to a house in North Dorchester. We realize you have worked hard to buy this new house and you chose it because its being near your work and your children's school. But we've taken them out of here and I understand we'll re-assign you to another job location shortly, so you shouldn't be all that upset with the move."

P.S. . . . We have provided you with a bus to. . . .

Under the leadership of superintendent Robert Wood, the Boston public school system has been largely turned around. The federal receivership imposed on South Boston High School by Judge Garrity has been lifted. But the questions raised in "The Neighborhood Tavern" still remain to trouble us for the '80s. Early this July they erupted in the opinion of the Justices of a badly divided Supreme Court in the Columbus and Dayton school desegregation cases. These cases provide the best reference point for assessing the current status of busing and that elusive goal—equal educational opportunity.

THE COLUMBUS and Dayton cases presented the issue of how much court-ordered busing may be required in a Northern context. In Columbus, during the 1976 school year, around 70 percent of the students were attending schools which were at least 80 percent black or 80 percent white. Half of the schools were 90 percent black or 90 percent white. After a long trial, the federal district court judge ruled that, despite the absence of a state statute (as in the South) mandating segregation, the Columbus school board, as of 1954 (the year of the *Brown* decision) had created a dual school system. This had been done over the years by gerrymandering attendance zones, resulting in "an enclave of separate, black schools on the near east side of Columbus." Under the *Brown* decision, therefore, the Columbus school board was subject to a continuing obligation to disestablish this dual system. However, in subsequent years, the trial judge found that there had been a number of school board actions which could not "reasonably be explained without reference to racial concerns" and which "intentionally aggravated, rather than alleviated," racial separation. The Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit affirmed these findings and an order for systemwide desegregation, under which 42,000 of Columbus's 96,000 pupils were reassigned to new schools.

During the year in which the complaint was filed in the Dayton case, 43 percent of the students were black, but 51 of the 69 schools in the system were almost totally all-black or all-white. The federal district court ruled, nonetheless, that the plaintiffs had failed to prove that acts of the Dayton school board were purposely motivated to cause this effect. While there had been some discriminatory policies twenty years earlier, the trial judge found that they did not have a continued causal impact on the present racial composition of the schools, which resulted primarily, he believed, from residential living patterns. Yet the Court of Appeals reversed these findings as "clearly erroneous." It found a pattern of teacher hiring and assignment, placement of schools in one-race neighborhoods, transfer policies and the use of optional attendance zones which made Dayton, too, unconstitutionally segregated.

A majority of the Supreme Court affirmed the Court of Appeals' conclusions in both cases and spelled out the applicable principles of law, as they had evolved since *Brown*. Once there had been a finding of purposeful segregation in a school system, be it by statute (as in the South) or official acts (as often in the North) that system is under a continuous affirmative duty to eliminate the segregation "root and branch." The last phrase is from a 1968 decision of the Supreme Court in *Green V. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia*, involving only two schools, one

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black, one white, with a combined total of 1,300 pupils, hardly a blueprint for massive urban school desegregation. In 1971, in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, a still unanimous Supreme Court, with Chief Justice Warren Burger writing the opinion, approved busing on a large scale, although still in the context of the traditional Southern dual school system.

THE FIRST MAJOR Northern case, *Keyes v. School District No. 1*, focusing on segregation in Denver, Colorado, was decided in 1974. The *Keyes* opinion was an important cornerstone to Judge Garrity's decision to order large-scale busing in Boston, as it was to the later Dayton and Columbus rulings. In *Keyes*, the Court held "that a finding of intentionally segregative school board actions in a meaningful portion of a school system . . . creates a *presumption* that other segregated schooling within the system is not adventitious. It establishes, in other words, a prima facie case of unlawful segregative design on the part of school authorities, and *shifts* to those authorities the burden of proving that other segregated schools within the system are not also the result of intentionally segregative sections." This language in the *Keyes* opinion was a major victory for the NAACP and civil rights groups, because once the burden had shifted, a school board could almost never come up with enough contrary evidence to avoid a system-wide busing order.

But how does one define "intent to segregate"? Or determine whether a given set of school board actions—or inactions—have had cumulative system-wide impact? Aren't these very subjective determinations, leaving an inordinate amount to the discretion of the individual federal district judge? His upbringing, be it happenstance liberal or conservative, may determine the pattern of education for a whole city as much as the objective facts before him—if there are any "objective facts" anywhere. Surely so much power in the hands of one man(or woman) would seem to be at war with ideals of democracy, especially in the field of education, which the Court in *Brown* characterized as "perhaps the most vital function of state and local government." And, assuming that a Northern school committee did commit a few mortal sins prior to 1954, when will the judicial lash get off its back?

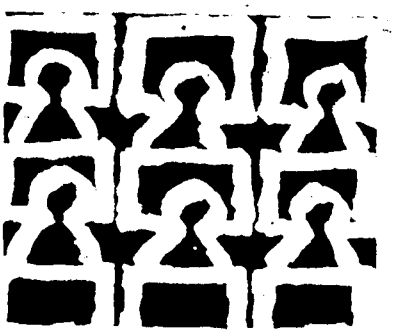
The majority of the Court in both cases, with Justice White writing the opinions, held that school committee actions "having foreseeable and anticipated disparate impact are relevant to prove the ultimate fact, forbidden purpose." A number of violations, though affecting a few students and lasting only a short time, could have an incremental impact over the years greater than their individual immediate consequences. The logical progression of the Court's decisions from *Brown* to *Green* to *Keyes* dictated that Columbus and Dayton must disestablish, and so they must.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES wrote, in *The Common Law*, "The life of the law has not been logic. It has been experience." The experience of the majority made it highly suspicious that the disparate racial composition of the public schools in Dayton and Columbus was the result of fortuity or simply individual preference. To the dissenters, however, the majority's thinking ignored many other realities.

In its *Weber* decision, the liberal majority reminisced on what Hubert Humphrey must have thought about equal opportunity in employment. In Columbus and Dayton, I suspect, many of the Justices must have asked themselves how the Chief—Chief Justice Warren, of course—would have voted. Clearly the majority was aware of how an opposite result would be regarded in the light of history (let alone by the present generation of blacks)—a retreat from the promise of Racial Justice and Equality.

But were the decisions good *law*? In its reading of legislative history, Justice William Rehnquist believed that the *Weber* decision was more of a tribute to Houdini than to Humphrey. His fulminations, in dissent in Columbus and Dayton, were almost as acerbic. The majority, to him, embraced "a novel analytical approach. . . . Perhaps the adjective 'analytical' is out of place since the Court's opinions furnish only the most superficial methodology, a framework which . . . ought to be examined in a far more thorough and critical manner than is done by the Court's 'lick and a promise' opinions today." Justice Lewis Powell wrote:

> The Court's opinions in these two cases are profoundly disturbing. They appear to endorse a whole new constitutional concept applicable to school cases. The opinions seem remarkably insensitive to the now widely accepted view that a quarter of a century after *Brown*



> . . . the federal judiciary should be limiting rather than expanding the extent to which courts are operating the public school systems of our country. In expressing these views, I recognize, of course, that my Brothers . . . are motivated by purposes and ideals that few would question. My dissent is based on a conviction that the Court's opinions condone the creation of bad constitutional law and will be even worse for public education—an element of American life that is essential, especially for minority children.

The dissenters' criticisms break down into five main groupings. First, they believed that the majority placed too much reliance on pre-*Brown* violations. School board actions over twenty-five years ago may have only a very attenuated link to the racial composition of urban schools today. As Justice Potter Stewart wrote:

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> Much has changed in twenty-five years, in the Nation at large and in Dayton and Columbus in particular. Minds have changed with respect to racial relationships. Perhaps more importantly, generations have changed. The prejudices of the school boards of 1954 (and earlier) cannot realistically be assumed to haunt the school boards of today. . . . Dayton and Columbus are both examples of the dramatic growth and change in urban school districts. It is unrealistic to assume that the hand of 1954 plays any major part in shaping the current school systems in either city. For these reasons, I simply cannot accept the shift in the litigative burden of proof adopted by the Court.

Secondly, there was debate over how much reliance should be placed on the fact-finding capacity of a single federal district judge, whose proclivities might have such impact on so many. Justice Stewart, who concurred in the Columbus decision, dissented in Dayton. He believed that the Court should defer to the findings of the district court judge, who tended to be thoroughly familiar with the local scene. There is much to be said for this view. From my own experience, I doubt whether any "outside" judicial panel could understand the complexities of the Boston school case with as much savvy and sensitivity as Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, who came to know just where the skeletons were buried. On the other hand, I may be biased in this view of his competence, because I share his ideological position. Justice Rehnquist felt vehemently that the majority's decision gave little guidance to district judges as to the grounds on which findings would be held "clearly erroneous" or not: "If District Court discretion is not channelized by a clearly articulated methodology, the entire federal court system will experience the disaffection which accompanies violation of Cicero's maxim not to 'lay down one rule in Athens and another rule in Rome.' " He believed that the liberal majority, in both Columbus and Dayton and in the *Weber* decision, was determined to force its ideology on the nation at the cost of intellectual dishonesty. In very thorough opinions, he protested that this was not "the rule of law."

Third, the dissenters believed that it was simply unrealistic to pretend, through a series of legal "presumptions," that school boards were accountable for urban school segregation. "This condition results," wrote Justice Lewis Powell, "primarily from familiar segregated housing patterns, which—in turn—are caused by social, economic, and demographic forces for which no school board is responsible."

Fourth, the majority's approach, focusing so much on racial ratios, appeared too narrow, and wooden. Justice Powell was the main spokesman for this view, speaking not only as a Justice but probably also from his own experiences as president of the Richmond board of education. "If public education is not to suffer further," he stated, quoting from his concurring opinion in *Keyes*, " 'we must return to a more balanced evaluation of the recognized interests of our society in achieving desegregation with other educational and societal interests a community may legitimately assert.' " He

Recently, an advisory panel . . . has concluded that school desegregation confined to Los Angeles alone may not be sufficient to meet *state* constitutional demands. . . . This represents a new twist on "States' Rights."

believed that the neighborhood school fulfilled important societal interests—interests expressed in "The Neighborhood Tavern" ("We realize you have worked hard to buy this new house and you chose it because of its being near your work and your children's school"). Not only whites, of course, believe in the neighborhood school. Professor Derrick Bell of Harvard Law School has sensitively criticized the notion of some white liberals that "whiteness" is a critical element of effective education for blacks. If their children are bused across town by court order, how meaningfully can black parents participate in the day-to-day monitoring of their children's education?

Fifth, to order system-wide integration in every large city—which, given the presumptions in *Keyes*, may be possible for enterprising civil rights lawyers to bring to pass—may be self-defeating. Again, Justice Lewis Powell:

> These harmful consequences, moreover, in all likelihood will provoke responses that will defeat the integrative purpose of the court's order. Parents, unlike school officials, are not bound by these decrees and may frustrate them through the simple expedient of withdrawing their children from a public school system in which they have lost confidence. In spite of the substantial costs often involved in relocation of the family or in resort to private education, experience demonstrates that many parents view these alternatives as preferable to submitting their children to court-run school systems.

Justice Powell then cites controversial sociologist James Coleman's warnings about the dangers of "white flight"—the same Coleman whose famous 1966 report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, had been the bible of integrationists until he changed his mind in 1975.

THE "WHITE FLIGHT" controversy has been the subject of extensive academic debate and bitterness. The pro-integrationist sociologists—the Thomas Pettigrews and Christine Rossells—trade jabs with the more conservative Nathan Glazers, Richard Armors and James Colemans. You can read about it all in the pages of the *Harvard Educational Review* and *The Public Interest*. Each side holds out its findings as objective social science.

What is the current status of the debate? Inconclusive, I

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think. I say "I think," because, despite much exposure to both sides of the controversy, my training as a lawyer simply doesn't provide me with the tools to decide which side is "right." Certain combined degree programs—for example, the Public Policy Program of the John F. Kennedy School of Government—are trying to give young lawyers and law students exposure to the language of mathematics and statistical techniques in order to help them better to sort out social science evidence and apply it in public law litigation. But the present techniques of social science evidence do not yet seem sufficiently developed, in terms of controlling the variables and so on, to lead to much certainty. Owen Fiss of Yale Law School, one of the ablest and the earliest constitutional analysts of the problem of Northern school desegregation, asks. "Is segregation harmful? Is it particularly harmful to blacks? How harmful is it? These seem like purely empirical questions, susceptible to the methodologies of the social scientists. But the truth of the matter is that these questions have not been answered with the kind of clarity one might hope for when the task is justifying . . . a judicial order coercing the school boards. . . ." Or as the Supreme Court said in another context:

> On even the most basic questions . . . scholars and educational experts are divided. . . . In such circumstances the judiciary is well advised to refrain from imposing on the States inflexible constitutional restraints that could circumscribe or handicap the continued research and experimentation so vital to finding even partial solutions to educational problems and to keeping abreast of ever changing conditions.

Still, there is open the very important question of how much the *Brown* decision itself was dependent on the famous footnote 11, citing Kenneth Clark's studies. Most scholars now seem to discount the significance of the social science testimony; the *Brown* decision was rather a *moral* imperative. If so, where should judges look for the source of morally right decisions in today's more complicated urban context?

Diane Ravitch has written one of the most thoughtful analyses of the "white flight" controversy. She says that "it seems unlikely that we will ever know with any degree of certainty whether whites (and some middle-class blacks) are leaving the city because of concern about desegregation or crime or poor services or racial tensions or the quality of life or for some other reason or combination of reasons. But if it is impossible to measure the precise impact of school desegregation on 'white flight,' it is equally insupportable to claim that there is no effect whatever." Whatever, she gives us some very grim statistics (as of 1976; the percentages have increased today) concerning the percentages of minority students in our ten largest cities:

New York	69.5 percent
Los Angeles	63 percent
Chicago	75 percent
Houston	65.8 percent
Detroit	81.3 percent
Philadelphia	68.2 percent
Miami	59 percent
Baltimore	75.6 percent
Dallas	61.9 percent
Cleveland	62.9 percent

On the city with the highest percentage of minorities, Detroit, the Supreme Court, by a 5-4 vote, shut the door to metropolitan desegregation. In *Milliken v. Bradley*, the Court ruled that since there had been no conclusive proof that the suburbs had contributed to pinning blacks into Detroit, they should not have to bear the burden of a metropolitan remedy. This, however, has made racial integration within the Detroit system—giving all children the experience of integration as preparation for life in a democracy—all but impossible. Had the Court ruled the other way, it is a safe bet that Judge Garrity would have ordered children in black, lower-class Roxbury integrated with white, upper-middle class Brookline (which boasts one of the most innovative school systems in the country). But with the door closed to this judicial remedy, he was forced to bus black children from Roxbury into lower-class South Boston and vice-versa. The violence which took place is a scar in our national memory. Moreover, the first *Coleman Report* had demonstrated that mixing lower-class kids with lower-class kids, whatever their races, tends to be an educational disaster, a finding still undisputed. Kids learn primarily from their families and other kids. The glory of colleges like Harvard and Radcliffe is not the eminence of the professors, but what happens in the dining halls and in bull sessions in the Houses as an extraordinary student body exchanges ideas and feelings.

BUT NOT ALL hope is lost. For the present moment, the Court has put the damper on metropolitan desegregation as far as the *federal* Constitution is concerned. However, a dramatic new development may be taking place on the West Coast. The city of Los Angeles, with 63 percent of its students minorities, has been the target of a prolonged desegregation lawsuit in the state courts. Recently, an advisory panel of social science, legal and educational experts, appointed by Superior Court Judge Paul Egly, who is overseeing the litigation, has concluded that school desegregation confined to Los Angeles alone may not be sufficient to meet *state* constitutional demands. The panel is recommending a metropolitan desegregation plan, affecting over eighty suburban school districts in Los Angeles County and many more in neighboring Orange and Ventura counties.

This represents a new twist on "States' Rights." During the heyday of the Warren Court, the cry of "States' Rights" became synonymous with reactionary Southern attempts to get around, or delay the implementation of, the demands of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Today the pendulum has shifted. As the Burger Court has pulled back from, or refused to extend, the rulings of the Warren Court, state supreme courts, interpreting *state* constitutional provisions, have begun to fill the void. Knowledgeable liberal lawyers are beginning to go into state courts, in states like New Jersey, Connecticut and California, in an

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attempt to bring about progressive change. For example, in 1974, the Burger Court ruled that, for purposes of the Equal Protection Clause, education was not a "*fundamental* constitutional right." As a result, it refused to order property tax equalization between central city and suburban school districts. But in California, New Jersey and Connecticut, civil rights lawyers have persuaded state supreme courts that the Equal Protection Clauses of the state constitution should be more broadly interpreted to recognize the centrality of education and to order tax equalization among school districts.

The harsh truth in Los Angeles, as in almost all of the large cities in this land, is that there will soon not be enough Anglo children within the confines of the central city to make meaningful desegregation possible. Bringing in the suburbs will not only result in racial integration, but social class integration as well. Not surprisingly, liberal sociologist Thomas Pettigrew has been one of Judge Egly's advisers. His study has shown how a metropolitan approach can be adopted while avoiding the administrative nightmare of a single massive metropolitan school district. The most efficient approach—one which would cut down on long distance busing—would be to divide Los Angeles into quadrants, for educational purposes, and integrate each one with contiguous suburbs.

The proposed metropolitan solution to the problems of Los Angeles has, of course, not been without opposition. At the end of May, Roberta Weintraub, an arch-foe of busing, was elected to the Los Angeles Board of Education, replacing its more moderate president, Howard Miller, who lost in a recall election. Now anti-busing forces have a majority on the board. For other reasons, liberal members of the California Supreme Court have been recently under attack, which may make them reluctant to order a metropolitan plan into effect soon. Yet the suburban noose that the Burger Court approved in the Detroit case rejecting metropolitan desegregation not only seems, as a practical matter, to defeat the promise of *Brown*. It seems morally wrong as well.

RESULTS FROM A CHICAGO STUDY

Are integrated schools better?

J. S. FUERST & JIM BERGSTROM

THE MOST IMPORTANT factor motivating the Supreme Court, twenty-five years ago, to declare that segregated schools could not be equal was the deplorable condition in virtually all the public schools serving predominantly black children. Since *Brown vs. Board of Education* there have been enormous improvements in the situation of American blacks. But in spite of progress in school integration and improved educational opportunities, the rigidities in our school systems, and in our housing and living arrangements, have considerably slowed the "deliberate speed" mandated by the Supreme Court.

Recently, moreover, studies have proliferated questioning whether black youngsters placed in white schools perform any better. Is it even possible such students do worse? The point, inferred if not explicitly stated, is that integration, at least educationally, may not be useful. Nancy St. John of the University of Massachusetts reviewed 120 studies and said that there was no conclusive evidence that black children improved their scores through busing to white schools. A major proponent of school integration, James Coleman of the University of Chicago, has revised his belief that integration of black children with white children would necessarily raise the educational level of black youngsters; he now says that such procedures may not help.

Whether integrated education improved the skills of black children is a central question, but the fight among psychologists about whether the mere placement of a black child in an all-white classroom promotes or undermines self-esteem and educational achievement is a relatively theoretical one. The real-world question is whether in the types of all-black schools that are almost universal, youngsters have any chance to progress in the way they would in most, if not all, white schools, where the standards and services are of greater quality. There is a second question, however, of equal importance to the future of school integration and white resistance to busing, and that is whether integration has a negative impact on the *overall* educational achievement of the school population. In simpler terms, do black pupils gain—if they gain—at the educational expense of white pupils? Fear that such is the case is said to be a major factor behind "white flight," a controversial topic in itself.

Recently we studied these questions by following the reading scores and population changes in forty integrated Chicago schools, nineteen of which black youngsters have been at-

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tending during the last seven to ten years. We were interested in learning what happened to general reading scores in the school. What happened to the reading scores of black children, and what happened to the school population? Has it declined since the black children entered? If so why? And was this population decline different from that of other schools?

Black children had been introduced into the schools we studied in different ways: first, because their families were residents in the neighborhood or had moved into a contiguous neighborhood with overlapping school boundaries; second, by being bused into a neighborhood with schools containing empty classrooms; and, third, by a more general busing program into all-white schools.

To be specific, we considered eleven racially integrated schools in racially integrated areas where black families had moved for many years in varying numbers such as Hyde Park (University of Chicago neighborhood), Lincoln Park (near DePaul University), Near Northside (near Loyola). These schools served 4600 children and 1500 blacks.

Beginning ten years ago, about 600 black children were bused into eight schools in the "Austin" busing program in Chicago, because these schools had empty classrooms, due to declining birth rates and the general city-to-suburb population movement. These were our second group of schools.

A similar program referred to as "permissive transfer" began in 1977 and has bused an additional 2800 black children into predominantly white schools—our third group of schools. At present few if any white schools do not have at least some black children. Although the original busing program caused considerable hostility at the outset among the white ethnic homeowners into whose schools the children (up to a maximum of 15 percent) were introduced, the furor was short-lived, and the black children soon became an accepted part of their classes. These students were in a sense selected since they came from families who volunteered to have their children bused to white areas.

What did our study show? In virtually all of the schools where black youngsters had been present for a number of years—in ratios between 5 and 40 percent—*no decreases occurred in average school reading scores; in many cases there were increases*. The average second grade score in 1972 for the integrated schools in our study was 3.4 compared to the city-wide average 2.8. In those nineteen integrated schools with substantial numbers of black children, 1978 reading scores of children in the second grade averaged 3.7—a 10 percent increase over 1972. In the crucial eighth grade, scores in the nineteen integrated schools were at 8.9, slightly above the national norm of 8.8. Similarly in twenty-four schools where black children were introduced through the "permissive transfer program" in the past two years, few schools showed increases or decreases in reading scores.

Many principals maintained that any attempt at racial integration of outlying schools must have limits of 15 to 20 percent black children in order to allay fears and prevent white flight. They may be correct in estimating the psychology of white parents in these areas, but quite clearly these fears do not have validity on an educational basis. In several cases, like Hyde Park's Ray School and Bret Harte School, with 40 percent or more black youngsters, the reading scores in the second grade are 4.0 and 4.2 respectively, virtually 50 percent higher than city-wide averages. For the eighth grade there are startlingly high scores of 10.0 and 10.2.

These results, it should be noted, remind us of the importance of social class and family background in educational achievement. Many of these children, black and white, are from families in professional and managerial occupations. Similar scores were found at the Pershing School serving only black children—but again a group of middle- and upper-income blacks from a middle-income housing project. Integration is not, then, indispensable to high reading scores. Nonetheless Pershing is an exception among all-black schools in the inner city, where scores hover around 2.5 for the second grade and 6.2 for the eighth. In no way can the bulk of the children in these schools have a chance at meeting the standard performance without massive changes or busing.

Was there improvement in the reading scores of the black children who were placed in white schools? Our study did not examine statistically scores of black children. But discussion with the principals in these schools indicated that while there were students, black as well as white, who did not do well, the black children on the whole improved enormously. One principal, Hiram Broyles of the Burbank School, produced a study showing an improvement over a one-year period of 1.4 years in reading scores of 129 children, mostly black, bused to his school from the inner city. Fred Williams, principal of the Irving Park School, indicated a similar increase in scores of black children bused to his school. In both these schools the children who were bused were in a sense selected; the programs were limited to families volunteering to have their children bused and to children neither "receiving" nor "recommended" for special remedial education.

One principal, Jean Junker of the Kellogg School, similarly indicated that many of the black children in her school were performing at high levels. These youngsters, however, lived in an all-black area contiguous to the white area and were mostly from middle-class families who had elected to buy the moderately priced single-family homes in the area. In short, the continued improving scores of many of the schools may have been connected with the selecting of the youngsters in the program.

Our study, then, provides mostly individual views as to specific improvements of black children in these schools. Yet other studies appear to offer additional evidence. A major governmental study of 600 Southern schools in the 1971-72 school year indicated that black children generally do better academically in schools with racial balance of 20 to 40 percent—not more—than in schools with overwhelmingly black or white majorities.

Similarly in Charlotte-Mecklenberg, the county which furnished the unanimous U.S. Supreme Court decision mandating a 71-29 percent white/black ratio in schools, the Di-

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rector of Pupil Assessment indicated that the most important results after integration were displayed in elementary classes where students have been integrated in classes for all or nearly all of their schooling. Likewise a study by the Southern Regional Council found that generally black children learn more in desegregated schools than in segregated ones, while white children learn at their accustomed rate.

As Nancy St. John has indicated, while the research in these studies (as in ours) does not "scientifically" establish that black children do better in integrated schools where all the variables are the same, they certainly indicate that black youngsters do better in integrated schools where the services are better, the classes smaller and the students are motivated. Moreover, she added, integration "in the long run increases the aspiration, self-esteem and sense of environmental control for black youth."

To be sure, the hottest controversy in the field is over whether such integration, through busing, causes white flight. Periodical literature and news media abound with arguments on both sides. There is no question that the introduc-

HERO OF THE YEAR

AMERICAN HISTORY IN MICROCOSM

"SHOW ME a hero," wrote Fitzgerald, "and I will write you a tragedy." One could find more than a hint of a quarter century of American tragedy—and American comedy—in at least one list of heroes. Twenty-five years ago the University of Notre Dame started a program whereby each senior class presented an award to an outstanding American. Initially the Notre Dame seniors designated their choice as Patriot of the Year, the first Patriot being—who else?—J. Edgar Hoover. Thereafter in the 1950s the award went to people like Gen. Curtis LeMay (1956), Bishop Fulton J. Sheen (1955), Robert F. Kennedy (1958) for his relentless investigation of the Teamsters, and finally to that great American patriot Wernher von Braun (1959). The Cold War and anti-Communism were the threads tying this diverse group together.

The trend continues into the '60s. Richard M. Nixon was the choice for the first year of the new decade, a significant move for the seniors since that was an election year. (That John F. Kennedy, an earlier choice—1957—would be the opposing candidate was, of course, not clear in the spring.) Hyman Rickover (1961) and Bob Hope (1962) follow, but then the chosen Patriots break out of the anti-Communist mold and begin to mirror the optimism of Camelot. People like Adlai Stevenson (1963), for his service at the United Nations, John Glenn (1964), for his achievement in space, and Sargent Shriver (1965), for his leadership of the Peace Corps and War on Poverty, dominate the early '60s. The older patriotism briefly returns with the selection of Sen. Everett Dirksen and Gen. William Westmoreland in 1966 and 1967.

A dramatic shift takes place in 1968, however. For the next few years the choices of Notre Dame seniors are all critics of American society: John Gardner (1968), Secretary of HEW and founder of Common Cause, Sen. Eugene McCarthy (1969) and Allard Lowenstein (1970), leader of the "Dump Johnson" movement. Gardner, in fact, was the last of the "Patriots." By 1969 patriotism was not in such good repute, and the honor was thereafter called the Senior Fellow Award. In 1971 and 1972 this trend culminated in the naming of radical lawyer William Kunstler and Fr. Daniel Berrigan.

The sudden, sharp rejection of America's involvement in Vietnam is perfectly mirrored in the selection, within two years, of men as different as Westmoreland and McCarthy. But the shift in Notre Dame's choice of heroes involved more than the war. In the 1950s the winners all reflected the values typical of a Midwestern Catholic university: they were generally politically conservative or, as in the case of the two Kennedys, symbolized a certain pride in the accomplishment of American Catholics. In the 1960s Notre Dame students fell in with the rest of the nation ideologically. Their choices of McCarthy, Kunstler and Berrigan could just as easily have been made by Harvard or Yale seniors. Interesting, nonetheless, is the total absence from a quarter century of heroes of women or members of any minority. And with the exception of Kunstler and Berrigan there is not a name on the list that the American establishment of the past 25 years would not be comfortable with.

The list in the late 1970s shows our growing disillusionment with politics. William Ruckelshaus (1974) and Richard Lugar (1978) are there, both no doubt as Hossier favorite sons, but in Ruckelshaus's case also as a genuflection toward Watergate. Otherwise politicians give way to a clergyman (Rev. Robert Griffin, 1973), a football coach (Ara Parseghian, 1975), an athlete and wounded Vietnam vet (Rocky Bleier, 1976), and a cartoonist known for puncturing political pretensions (Garry Trudeau, 1977).

The years after Watergate reveal more than a withdrawal from political life and passion; the selections show the country's lack of direction and a discomfort with heroism itself. Looking over the list, one thinks already of a lost, and more innocent, America. In 1979, fittingly enough, no one was chosen. JOHN P. ROSSI

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tion of black children into an all-white community school through busing causes uneasiness. According to the principals we interviewed, in few, if any, of the forty schools did this uneasiness cause rapid withdrawal from the schools or neighborhood. Undoubtedly this stability was partially due to the schools' long records of good service. In fact, in Hyde Park, Lincoln Park and several of the other areas with sizable proportions of black residents, as well as black students in the schools, property values have increased.

According to most of the principals, schools in the northwest area of Chicago, Belmont-Cragin, Montclare, Dunning, Portage Park and Irving Park, showed no evidence of white flight resulting from the introduction of black students. There has been about a 20 percent reduction of population in these schools over the years, owing to families leaving the area or placing children in private schools, or to the declining birth rate. But these reductions were less than the population reduction (25 percent) in schools in outlying areas where there had been no such introduction of black children. Moreover the 20 percent drop of student populations in the northwest schools was a longtime phenomenon; there was no increase as a result of busing black youngsters to these areas. This is not to say that if the proportion of black youngsters were much over the 15-20 percent, there would not be white flight. That, in fact, is precisely the opinion of many of the local principals.

There are two alternate obstacles to improved educational achievement of black children: first, the general laggardness of many educational bureaucracies to accelerate desegregation, even when it is possible, out of fear of upsetting local applecarts and accelerating white middle class flight from urban areas; second, the bullheadedness of federal officials in pushing for an overall integration of schools at a higher ratio of the population than can be achieved, or even threatened, without causing mass exodus.

Consequently, if a city like Chicago has an overall average of 45 percent black children in its schools, and only 30 percent white children, and the federal government mandates that each and every white school must take in, say, exactly 45 percent black youngsters, such a suggestion, let alone its execution, can cause an immediate exodus of many of the remaining white families. Within the month, roughly such a suggestion has indeed been made: an HEW feasibility study proposes moving 114,000 children, both black and white, on a pairing and clustering basis which divides Chicago into seven zones, done in such a way that while some all-black schools would still exist, all schools now predominantly white would have 50 percent or less white youngsters. Not surprisingly Mayor Byrne and the School Board are opposing the plan. Similarly, an order that children in white families in the suburbs, or outlying areas of the city, must be integrated into the largely black city schools—as distinguished from busing black students to these areas—would cause an even more rapid exodus. There seems to be a "tipping point" of schools (as well as of housing) beyond which some people will start to move; and this tipping point varies from community to community and from time to time; and, as a matter of practice, acceptance of black youngsters in white schools is increasing daily.

WHAT FINALLY, does this study tell us? First that while the Chicago schools, like many other schools, have made progress in integration, HEW has not been altogether wrong in pressing them to do more. Before 1977, when there were some fifty schools in Chicago that had virtually no black children, there was a long way to go. Only in the last two years was any large-scale attempt at integration made, and in these two years only 2800 black children were placed in white schools. What must be recognized however is that out of 60,000 white children in the primary schools only 46,000 are in predominantly white schools. If these schools were to increase their racial percentage to 15 or 20 percent black, there would be a place for 3-4000 more black students. This would not only help the 4000 children involved and lighten the burden on the still predominantly black schools, but most importantly it would be a step toward showing the suburban neighbors that integration can be accomplished, without adversely affecting behavior patterns or school scores.

Second, with limited numbers of white children remaining in the city school population, integration must be done on a limited basis. This is not simply proposed in the name of political stability or other values, but *so that integration itself will work*. If a more massive attempt is made, resegregation

John Nixon, Jr.

Gone

In honor of my mother's final summer,
A bird, perhaps no larger than her hope was,
Built in this viney place outside her window
An undistinguished nest. Maybe the gesture
Translated to: *Look, old one, how, though fragile,*
I take my chances in the perilous weather,
Defy this feline town, this reptile season.
Open your window so that I may sing you
One brief intrepid aria.

Now lonely,
With both my mother and the summer withered,
I read the little cobweb-covered message.

Roy Scheele

Up Early One October Morning

It is so dark out it seems the sky
has overflowed, washing away the stars.
Hung by the handle, the Little Dipper
drips into the pail as it dries.

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will take place, leaving an even larger number of black children in black schools.

Third, because white families can always protest by moving or putting their children in private schools, and therefore the number of black youngsters that can be integrated without causing resegregation is limited, there must be constant pressure both for improvement in inner-city, predominantly black schools and for integration on a metropolitan rather than city-wide basis. This is the view of Vernon Jordan and James Compton of the Urban League and other black leaders, as well as James Coleman and other social scientists. Both of these efforts are clearly essential if we are to provide equal educational opportunity for black children. There can be no question that today's predicament has come about because, in altogether too many cities, like Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit and many others, school segregation has been permitted and fostered for far too long by the Boards of Education. Nevertheless in these cities the only current solution is exerting both moderate pressure to obtain balanced integration in white schools and enormous pressure to effect radical change in inner-city schools generally.

Fourth, in cities like Fort Wayne, Toledo, Tulsa, Rockford, Omaha and Corpus Christi, with smaller minority populations or where such imbalances have not yet been perpetuated, busing is particularly appropriate, along with better placement of newly built schools and a better districting of pupils, with balanced ratios, in order to avoid the hard-to-shake burden of segregated schools. This is where the federal government should concentrate its efforts.

Screen

COPPOLA NOW

THE BUSINESS OF MOVIES IS BUSINESS?

ON THE BACK of Joan Didion's *The White Album* is a photograph of the authoress looking as if she has a migraine headache. The face is finely drawn. The features seem almost to quiver like antennae. The nostrils flare as if Ms. Didion were a very expensive thoroughbred who knows its own worth and suddenly sniffs smoke in the stable. Yet the expression on Ms. Didion's face is amazingly blank. The eyes stare in an intense but unfocused way. The vision seems to be neither inward nor outward, but absent. One of the "Sojourns" Didion recounts, in the section of *The White Album* which bears that one-word title, is "In Bed," with a migraine. The victim of a migraine is incredibly sensitive to every stimulus. A ray of sunlight falls across the eyes with the heaviness of a metal tool dropped onto a concrete surface. Every sensation jumps to the level of pain. You are unbearably aware of every ripple in your environment. But at the same time that sensitivity becomes so acute, sensibility is reduced to nil. The sheer force of one's perceptions makes each of them discrete. They are all disconnected from one another.

Joan Didion writes as if she experienced all of life in the throes of a migraine. The title piece in *The White Album*, which gets a section all to itself, the opening section, sets the mood for the whole book. The piece is a series of fifteen, numbered observations Didion has made on her life and times over a period of ten years. The writing style is very much that of—Didion's own catch phrase for it—the "flash cut." What gives her journalism its distinct personality is her ability not to draw conclusions. It is uncanny, it seems almost super-human, the extent to which, as the last sentence of "The White Album" says, "Writing has not yet helped me to see what it means." The title "White Album" puts it perfectly. The image it summons up for us is a non-image, an image of a blank book. Only by thinking of Didion as someone in a permanently extraordinary state of mind, like having a migraine, can we imagine how she could write in the broken, dissociated way she does.

It is in this state of mind that Didion looks at movies. The "Sojourn" immediately preceding that "In Bed" is one taken "In Hollywood." Didion is a native of southern California who has written screenplays as well as fiction and journalism, so Hollywood is home turf for her. Her piece on Hollywood is a vivid, insider's account of the way motion-picture executives live and operate today. Her point is that movies are a product controlled by the people who supply and manage the money

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invested in them. Critics who talk about movies as if they were art are insufficiently informed about these people. There's no need for me to defend criticism against Ms. Didion's attack on it. I would be disingenuous if I now stood up for John Simon, whom she singles out for special abuse, when this column has sometimes reflected my own impatience with his nonsense. Let it suffice to say that we all have our fictions with which we make life more amenable, more "interesting" (an adjective Didion puts in quotation marks of contempt but then, forgetfully, uses herself). The idea that movies are a collusion among over-groomed, faintly bored businessmen is no less a fiction than the idea that movies are art.

It is "interesting," though, how Didion manages to ignore movies themselves in her essay on Hollywood. Again, her dissociated dissensibility seems to be at work—her tendency to see only random pinpoints of clarity through her haze of pain, to isolate whatever she sees in a bell jar of pure observation, to seal it off from thought and contradiction. Her seamless account of how Hollywood works sounds fine, as long as you don't actually see any movies. Once you do, it is apparent that, despite all the control the money people are supposed to have, some moviemakers are still able to make their films their own. If you were to see without any identifying titles a half dozen films by Hitchcock or Hawks or Altman, or even Sam Peckinpah, whom Didion uses as an example of a director often interfered with, you would be able to tell in each case that the films must have been made by the same person. More, you'd be able to tell a good deal about the person's values and sense of human experience. Movie moguls have prevented art here about as effectively as Renaissance popes did when they hired painters to do frescos in new churches.

I BRING up Joan Didion only because I suspect that Francis Ford Coppola has fallen down the chasm which yawns between her idea of Hollywood and my idea of movies. Didion makes a good deal of the right motion-picture executives have to meddle, by taking pictures out of their directors' hands, for instance, and re-editing them before their release. But the opportunities for this kind of thing have always been limited. Executives can't exercise options the directors haven't given them in the footage they've shot, and the best directors have often been perversely good at "cutting in the camera." The instances in which the businessmen have actually managed to interfere with a movie loom large because the moviemakers felt humiliated, but the real effect on the history of the movies is probably not great. A strong piece of work has some integrity of its own and isn't that easily destroyed. It is not by spoiling a good picture before its release that Didion's executives get their stick in. It is by ganging up on a director after he's had a failure, as Coppola has in *Apocalypse Now*.

The reason that Didion doesn't need ever to have seen a movie in order to write about Hollywood is that nobody there cares much for movies. All they care about is making "deals." Making the movie is just a tiresome aftermath of the "deal." In the one account Didion gives us of a producer and director actually at work on location, both of them spend all their time back at the Hilton Inn on the phone trying to set up the "deal" for their next picture. Didion's piece opens with a scene at a Hollywood executive's home where guests are given a private screening of a new movie after dinner. The movie is Elaine May's *The Heartbreak Kid*, but seeing it is a perfunctory part of the evening for these people, as if they were being made to sit through somebody's vacation slides rather than one of the brightest comedies of the '70s. Afterwards, they talk about Chinese acrobats, picture grosses, Bonwit Teller and who's "bankable" at present, but not about the movie. In the rest of America, people who go to a movie together, as a social occasion, do so for the twin pleasures of both seeing it and talking about it later. In Didion's Hollywood, it is a subject of no "interest."

Didion prefaces the dinner party scene with a quotation from Cecilia Brady in *The Last Tycoon* about how " 'Hollywood . . . . can be understood, but only dimly and in flashes. Not half a dozen men have ever been able to keep the whole equation of pictures in their heads.' " Dimly and in flashes are the way Didion sees everything, so she and Cecilia are like-minded. Cecilia is right about the difficulty of keeping the whole equation of pictures in your head. Didion's own piece is proof enough of that, and not the only proof we have these days. To much greater consequence, *Apocalypse Now* proves the same thing. Though not the version Cecilia is thinking of, the only version of the equation that matters is the one where money =art. Unfortunately, the more you load money onto one side of the equation, the harder it is to keep the other side in balance. The equation always seems to work by inverse proportions. The moviemakers who have been able to keep the whole equation in their heads are the ones who have usually kept the figures small, like Ford or Hawks. When budget is routine and production modest, a single individual has a chance to impose his head, his imagination, on the results. (Coppola has done this himself in *The Rain People* and *The Conversation*, which remains his best picture.) On a B picture, a director can even afford to fail sometimes.

But when a director puts everything he owns into a movie, as Coppola has in *Apocalypse Now*, and then adds to his own $16 million some $14 million more of other people's money, he takes up residence in Didion's Hollywood, where nobody really cares much for movies. This is when it really gets hard to keep the equation of pictures in your head. Although my subject is *Apocalypse Now*, I've spoken about Didion at such length because I'm afraid we need help to understand where Coppola's picture goes wrong. Its ultimate failure lies outside itself, beyond its own control, in the world that Didion describes. That world is epitomized just as well, and a good deal more succinctly, by a California license plate which can be seen around town in Hollywood and Beverly Hills these days. The plate reads, "IMNDBZ." Francis Ford Coppola is "in de biz," and I suspect that those tanned, self-possessed executives Didion writes about are going to give him de biz now. *(The first of two parts.)*

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

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LOIS SPEAR

"NOW YOU from North Ca'lina," Tom Wicker quotes George Wallace as saying. "Take that university up there, got the HEW tryin' to tear it down. All them professors sayin' just what I use to say 'bout the HEW now."

For one North Carolinian, the Rev. W.W. Finlator, the charges rang true. Besides serving as pastor at Pullen Memorial Baptist church in Raleigh with its congregation drawing heavily from professors and administrators at nearby North Carolina State University, Finlator also chairs the N.C. advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

What caused Finlator to become embroiled in a dispute with his congregation was a telegram the Baptist minister sent to President Carter in late March urging a cutoff of federal funds to the University of North Carolina System (UNC) for failure to desegregate its sixteen campuses.

None of Finlator's earlier stands—against the Vietnam war, in favor of decriminalizing marijuana, pardon for the Wilmington 10—stirred up such a heated dispute.

The state's black community is equally divided over the issue.C.E. Branford from Wilson described the polarization in a May 11 letter to the *Raleigh News and Observer*: "We [blacks] seem to be asking for integration on one hand and segregation on the other. . . . We who advocate maintaining black colleges would have others believe that tolerance, sympathy and compassion can substitute for quality."

Conflicting views tend to hide real issues in the case. The South's schools, it should be remembered, are the least segregated in the nation. According to a report from the Institute for Southern Studies at Chapel Hill, N.C., the percentage of minority students in segregated institutions is 31 percent for the nation as a whole, only 24 percent in the South. According to the 1976 figures, in northern urban centers the number rises to 51 percent.

In the North Carolina system with its five predominately black institutions, impressive efforts at desegregation have been made already. "Other race" enrollment in all sixteen institutions has doubled since 1972. One campus, the nation's oldest state university, UNC at Chapel Hill, has a higher percentage of black students than 40 percent of the nation's other 48 major research institutions.

One of the reasons behind then-HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano's decision that the state must spend one hundred million dollars to upgrade its black institutions and remove duplication of programs was a March visit by David S. Tatel, director of HEW's office for Civil Rights, and Mary F. Berry, Assistant Secretary for Education at HEW. After a tour of the facilities on eight campuses, including the five black ones, the black woman and blind man pronounced the black facilities inferior to those at white institutions, estimating that it would require one hundred million dollars in state funds to equalize the campuses.

The case is now before the courts following a complaint against HEW filed by the state claiming that its First Amendment rights were violated over the issue of duplication of services.

CALIFANO'S attempt to force desegregation by a massive outlay of money to improve the black campuses is a futile and superficial gesture. It will not increase the number of minority students on white campuses where few blacks apply for admission in spite of heavy recruitment efforts. The major reason is an inability to reach the academic standards they find there. The explanation for the failure reaches back into the economy of the state where the wage scale in industry is the lowest in the nation. Low wages affect the public school system where per pupil tax-dollar expenditure is also low. In 1977 the state trailed behind the South and the nation in scholastic aptitude test scores. Mean average on the verbal was 394 compared with 410 in the South and 429 nationwide.

A contributing factor to low SAT scores has been the growth of "Christian schools" whose administrators successfully defied the state's efforts to extract records from them and require them to administer competency tests.

The black community, except for heated public debate, has offered few suggestions for raising SAT scores. When high school competency tests were devised, black opponents labeled them racist even though they required only basic skills, such as the ability to read road signs and balance a checkbook. As Lucy B. Golsan found out after her article in *The Progressive* a few years back,

SISTER LOIS SPEAR, O.P., *formerly on the faculty of St. Augustine's Episcopal College, Raleigh, N.C., is now communications director for the Sisters of Mercy/Union in Potomac, Maryland.*

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anyone who attempts to criticize black institutions of higher learning becomes anathema.

What is needed is full exposure of the problem with as little rhetoric as possible from both the "white liberal establishment," North and South, and those black civil rights leaders who are eager to use the controversy for personal gain. We need to find out the extent of the deficiency, not just in terms of buildings and equipment, but in the level of achievement by students, teachers, and administrators alike. Black colleges are the logical places to begin, for they train future black leadership.

My own experience (seven years at St. Augustine's Episcopal College, Raleigh) convinces me that unless significant changes are made in black institutions, pouring more money into them will serve only to perpetuate the problem. Students come to these schools from predominately rural sections of the Carolinas and Virginia where the academic levels are even lower than the state's average. As entering freshmen, the education they receive is not geared to their remedial needs; it is administered by poorly-paid teachers from the same deficient background (At St. Aug's, it's customary to hire returning graduates); personnel is top heavy with highly paid administrators who spend the greater share of their time writing government proposals or seeking community funds that are used to pay their own salaries or fund new, impressive-looking buildings and equipment. Each May another class graduates with students unable to qualify for positions in the public school system (They fail the National Teacher Examination) or for entrance into the advanced studies program in the state's university system.

Desegregation of the state's university system will be accomplished only through long-range programs that tackle the problem in all its aspects, social as well as economic. In the short run, before further funds are spent to upgrade black institutions, the following ought to be required:

1) full financial accounting of how past funds have been spent.
2) thorough inspection of personnel, their competency and dedication.
3) disclosure of academic level of students accepted into the institution. If they enter on a fifth grade level, no harm has been done; if they graduate on that same level, the institution should have its funding cut off.

One of the painful lessons blacks assimilated during the long years of discrimination was the methods used by the oppressors. In too many black institutions today, the personnel have become the new oppressors depriving students of the skills they need to succeed in an increasingly competitive job market.

Daniel Burke, F.S.C.

The Teacher to Heloise (After Waddell)

I have sometimes thought
this the difference
between loveliness and beauty:
the knowledge of what has passed,
the memory of the tree in Eden.
Loveliness is easy,
an appletree in blossom,
and for a shining while in youth
woman has it.
But beauty
is for the one or two:
Persephone come back
or Helen,
fierce kingdoms in her face.

And happiness?
A dog asleep in the sun.

And after beauty and great love?
Tragedy as great.

Martin Galvin

Heron's Bay

There is a space for winter here
to grow its ice. There is a place
for a small boat with oars and sail.
There is a piece of water here
for a fish farmer and his old wife,
turned by the wind into the wind.
We say the night heron stands and waits
for breaking water. He knows that water yields,
that fishes break. His neck is a white slake,
fishing for the water's sake and his.
He takes only his place which is as small
as he needs. He leaves the rest to you
and me, a small boat, winter and a pair
of old crabbers leaning in the wind,
space for oceans to turn in, things that bend.

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Books: INTELLECTUAL FIREPOWER

CONFESSIONS OF A CONSERVATIVE

Garry Wills

Doubleday, $10, 231 pp.

John Leo

HILAIRE BELLOC was so awesome in conversation that a friend once spent a week boning up on Greenland in hopes of besting the master just once. Belloc, of course, buried the man under a torrent of Greenland arcana. This is basically my experience with Garry Wills. So far I have had 60 arguments with the man and lost 59. Once, after he routed me in learned discussions of Maritain, Ezio Pinza and Dick Van Dyke, I suggested we step outside to settle things with a game of basketball. Whereupon the overweight and apparently unathletic sage of Baltimore humiliated me in five straight games of one-on-one.

By now his versatility and intellectual firepower are obvious enough. Wills is equally at home reinterpreting a bit of Sappho or Shakespeare, gently correcting Gilson on Augustine, interviewing the sullen Wilt Chamberlain, or upsetting the entire Jefferson industry.

But as his reputation has grown, so has the suspicion that he is winging it in his political journalism. How can he call Nixon "the last liberal" and dismiss McGovern as "a liberal of the worst sort"? What principles allow him to egg the Berrigans on, adopt the revisionist history of the cold war, skewer most of the right-wing theorists—and still call himself a conservative?

This memoir-cum-apologia makes clear that Wills is no political waterbug. His conservatism is rigorous, consistent and so personal that he is unlikely to be asked to share it. It is rooted in religious writing, chiefly Augustine, Newman and Chesterton. And though he has dropped his "glib anti-Communism" and become a headlong enthusiast for civil disobedience, his political thought has not changed very much since his mid-twenties.

Wills arrived at *National Review* in 1957, fresh out of the seminary, holding only a few stray political opinions. When Buckley asked about his politics, Wills pondered the matter and answered, with Chestertonian anti-individualism in mind, "distributist." The magazine was a stupefying collection of Manchester liberals, Hapsburgian theocrats, sentimental medievalizers and cold warriors—no place for an off-the-cuff distributist.

Virtually on order from *Natonal Review*'s Frank Meyer, Wills set out to construct his conservative credo. Though he ransacked the usual sources, from Plato to Locke, few of them seemed to impress as much as the earlier religious readings. From Augustine he drew his central idea that the state is founded on love, not justice: its primary function is to protect shared values and hold people together in peace, not to right all the wrongs in society. For Wills the state is neither a dangerous behemoth nor an agent for great change. It is merely the machinery of compromise. Society is a family that gets along through mutual deference and "a modest politics."

> *I am certainly not a liberal. I don't believe our politics works the way liberal theory claims. And I admire the system's workings because they guarantee coherence and continuity. They soften difference and mute change, so it may enter the social body as nutriment, not as a knifeblade. These surely are conservative values.*
>
> *On the other hand, I admire the voices calling for moral renewal and difficult change. I find in them the mystery of free will and heroism, and know we depend on these. No system can automatically turn human selfishness into "checks and balances" with benign results.*
>
> — Garry Wills, *Confessions of a Conservative*

Wills is happy with the American political system because it functions his way, not according to conventional liberal theory. Elections do not matter much. They blur issues and produce middling men, who in turn produce a blurry, middling politics, thus assuring continuity and coherence. Jockeying among the elites, from the oil lobby to Martin Luther King's crusade, yields something for everyone with the least amount of disruption. Vietnam was a disaster because it threatened internal peace. But so, for that matter, was the "motiveless benignity" of the McGovern campaign.

For Wills, the American system is a machine with no motor, geared only to prevent motion. Then how does change occur? His answer, familiar to anyone with a smattering of church history, is that change depends on the prophets and saints among us—the William Lloyd Garrisons, Berrigans, A. J. Mustes and Dorothy Days—who push their moral testimony until the politicians move. The real politics, in other words, occurs totally outside politics. It is elitist, i.e., defiant of the popular will. And it must be extreme, if only because the pols will bargain away half when the time comes.

Wills realizes he is dropping many of the barriers to civil disobedience. It is necessary to make his system go. He is, I think, inviting us into the streets to settle matters, surely an unprecedented notion for a conservative. There is, after all, no sure test for prophecy. King and Muste clearly qualify. But what about anti-abortionists trying to shut down a hospital, homosexuals disrupting the filming of movies they don't like, or the loony Boston feminist who shoots out store windows to show her displeasure with pornography? For that matter, what about the prophet armed? Wills could be clearer about how much disruption and

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violence he would tolerate in the name of prophecy. "Prophets would impose their message if they could," he writes, "so it is lucky that they can't." For someone writing a political credo, luck should have nothing to do with it.

Liberals are the big losers in Wills's system. Conservatives have an appropriately sluggish political machine, radicals have the streets, and the poor liberals are stuck with a narrow individualism and a naive belief that the electoral system works. Despite his emphasis on civil disobedience, the loudest message I heard was quietism. If Wills is right, there is little for us non-prophets to do but sit around and wait for the saints to come marching in.

Classic re-vision

EVERYONE:
THE TIMELESS MYTH OF 'EVERYMAN' REBORN
Frederick Franck
Doubleday, $12.50, 187 pp.

HE WAS ONE OF US:
THE LIFE OF JESUS OF NAZARETH
Rien Poortvliet
with text by Hans Bouma
Doubleday, $29.95, 121 pp.

Diana Culbertson

PLAYS ARE for seeing and hearing, and according to Frederick Franck, his play *EveryOne: The Timeless Myth of "Everyman" Reborn*, staged in numerous colleges and churches in North America, has been a "success." That may be. As a text, it is not. Neither the art—only tenuously related to the text—nor the hand lettering, can disguise the execrable verse of this play or the wearying clichés. One wonders why the author felt compelled to manipulate the 15th century masterpiece, which is, despite its archaisms, still one of the finest pieces of theater in our heritage. In *EveryOne*, the central character does not go off with Death, but experiences the touch of mortality and achieves—INSIGHT! We know that Insight has arrived when he (she?) announces: "To know you are immersed in night/*that* is the first glimmering of my light." (I was hoping that Insight's lines would be an improvement on everyone else's. Prior to the dialogue with Insight, EveryOne has conversed with Death, Friends, Family, and Treasure—none of whom offers either assistance or wisdom to EveryOne, who is destined to take "a long journey." One would hope, however, that if the classic *Everyman* were adapted for "modern man" that either poetry or perception would justify such an adaptation. But Franck irritates rather than inspires. We have here, for example, the stereotypical view of idealistic Youth—an idol that Franck does not seem to recognize. "I scorned the generous aspirations of the young," says EveryOne in a spasm of repentance.

> Their hunger for meaning, justice,
> their despair with a doomed
> and desecrated Earth,
> their horror at being condemned
> to lives of serfdom
> to computers and credit cards
> I mocked and I denounced,
> of course, invoking the highest
> Christian principles. . . .

Well. . . . this just doesn't wash. Those who have worked with YOUTH know quite well that they are no more horrified by credit cards and computers than they are by pizza and Cadillacs. And must we insist like modern manicheans that credit cards and computers are evil? Were we really more innocent before IBM and Mastercharge? Come now. If that sort of cliché were not enough, we have the inevitable simplistic condemnation of money: ("My job is just to KILL man's soul") and another slur at the beleaguered Wasps: "I'm White, I'm Protestant," says hypocritical EveryOne in his dialogue with Death. Poor White Protestants. What *would* we do without their delicious guilt?

As a third chapter, Franck offers us an explanation of his revised myth. And this should have been the book. Playwright he is not, but his reflections on the mean-

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ing of Everyman in the twentieth century and his autobiographical allusions touch ground, as his play does not. He describes his "trans-religious" search for understanding and peace, from his experience as a child in Holland seeing the medieval *Everyman* for the first time, to his discovery of Buddhism—and a comparable tale in Eastern tradition called "The Man and His Four Wives." He discusses his building of a sanctuary ("Pacem in Terris") in Warwick, New York, and his religious response to the personality of John XXIII. Franck has lived through and been touched by many of the horrors of the 20th century, and out of his experience he pleads for a reawakening of a religious attitude towards life. But an excessive romanticism obscures his vision. Music, cats, bread, cheese, stars, and well water are good; computers, credit cards, money are bad. Unfortunately this kind of religion doesn't help those of us who don't have wells and must deal with credit cards, and who live in linear time, as distinguished from something called NOW! presumably a holier tense. If a rebirth of a religious attitude will usher us into our humanity (EveryOne reborn), then we need to know what a religious attitude is. Franck's Buddhist-Christian romanticism won't do. And given the rather offensive lines attributed to God ("Stop chattering about Me! About my Son/ Who is my Son/ but he Who dares to see Me . . . ?) his play is scarcely the Buddhist-Christian credo he claims it to be. It is, in fact, quite pretentious and ultimately deceiving. For a play evoking a religious attitude I much prefer the original which, fortunately, is included in this book as an appendix. "They thank me not," says God, in that enduring text,

> "for the pleasure that I to them meant,
> Nor yet for their being that I them have lent;
> I proffered the people great multitude of mercy,
> And few there be asketh it heartily. . . ."

Doubleday offers us another coffee-table book, *He Was One of Us,—The Life of Jesus of Nazareth*, by Rien Poortvliet, the illustrator of *Gnomes*. Sparse prose, so elliptical that it is occasionally enigmatic alludes to the particular Gospel passage which inspired each illustration. It is hard to fault these Biblical illustrations unless one is looking for something the book does not pretend to offer. In fact, the hands and faces which tell this story of Jesus of Nazareth—in its quite literal sense—are exceptionally appealing, even if a simple view of the imagined historical Jesus is not to one's taste. The prefatory observations by the text writer, Hans Bouma, suggest the unifying theme: "This book can be looked upon as an act of homage to Jesus' humanity. But this does not mean that the man Jesus is pictured on every page. It is much more people around him that you'll get to see. Ordinary folk who uniquely characterize Jesus in his humanity through their genuinely human reactions to all that Jesus does."

He Was One of Us, however, is not religious art. It is quite simply a series of attractive and technically excellent illustrations of some Biblical characters who responded to the presence of Jesus. The scenes offer no particularly new religious insight and like most illustrative art, however brilliantly executed, its slick and appealing realism can restrict rather than release the imagination, or substitute sentiment for religious vision. Many people will like this book. The New Testament illustrated, however, will always look a bit like actors on a set, and that sort of vision is not quite what the Gospels are about.

The climate of the self

THE SNOW POEMS
A.R. Ammons
Norton, $12.50, 292 pp.

THE SELECTED POEMS
A.R. Ammons
Norton, $7.95, 105 pp.

Edward Proffitt

WE HAVE here Stevens's Major Man encounting Major Weather. At least, we have probably a major poet—Ammons looms ever larger on the poetic landscape—musing incessantly about the weather. Indeed, there's almost not a page without its weather report: a random example—

> fair this morning, much
> warmer, over fifty, but
> cloudy and rainy in the afternoon
> with a falling off of temperature down
> to where a few snowflakes flew and
> so today was mostly dark and lowering
> and blustery but nice

But is this poetry? Absolutely, *in context*. Almost nothing in this volume is abstractable; every little lyric piece must be taken with every other. And when the whole of this long volume is read through, the weather reports build to something like symbol. They give the feel of the place, yes, and thereby render vividly a sense of place. But they also give intimations of the temperature of a man "fifty in the mid-seventies" (p. 7) and of a cultural climate—the mid-seventies.

I have now touched on the main points I wish to discuss. First, the structure of *The Snow Poems*. From Wordsworth on down to the present, our theme of themes has been the self, and our poetic medium has been the lyric. For the lyric is the mode of self, or its expression, as anyone who sings in the shower or the rain understands. Yet, for the ambitious poet, this seemingly inevitable conjunction has caused a problem: How to write the long poem? Lyrics are by nature little fragmented things, the spontaneous expression of spots of time and not the product of sustained intellectual effort. Nevertheless, the whole period has witnessed a number of long poems, from *The Prelude* down to *The Cantos*, *The Four Quartets*, *Paterson*, "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction," Olson's *Maximus*, Zukofsky's *A*, Berryman's *Dream Songs*, and so forth. So our poets have found a solution to the dilemma, perforce a lyric solution (as opposed to a narrative solution, say): all of the poems just enumerated emerge out of the amalgamation of short lyrics

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juxtaposed so as to produce wholes greater than the sum of their lyric parts by association. Denis Donoghue summarizes the kind of structure that I'm pointing to as " 'juxtaposition without copula,' in Marshall McLuhan's phrase, or progression by contrast and association." This defines exactly the structure of *The Snow Poems*, which takes its place thus as the latest in a long line of what I call "epic lyrics."

At first sight, to be sure, the volume looks like an anthology, simply a collection of lyric poems. But this it is not. As I've suggested, nothing here is abstractable. Each lyric finds its place and demands to be taken in the context of the whole, which builds not by logical progression but by psychological association. *The Snow Poems*, then, is very much greater than the sum of its parts. And in that the parts build to a greater whole, the whole they build to is "epic" in the sense of "substantial," "encompassing," or, simply, "long."

It is "epic" in a more meaningful sense as well. A poem deserving the label "epic" is a poem—substantial of necessity—in which the major concerns and preoccupations of a culture are brought into focus. What are our concerns? Nature is certainly one, or the place of evolving consciousness in a non-conscious world and the paradox that the greater the degree of consciousness the more separate the being from the object of its desire. Freedom is another, or the wonderful, onerous burden of choice and self-creation that freedom necessitates. Which brings us back to self, its progressive delineation even as, poignantly, it moves toward obliteration (as Ammons has it, "achieve an identity, find a direction, . . . wait for the grave"—p. 205).

These are Ammon's themes, which interweave much like themes in music. But as they recur and recur again, they deepen. Or I might say that though the poem is full of marvelous high jinks (often typographical, more often dictional), it palpably renders a sense of deepening meditation: meditation on the process of aging, on life on its way to death. It renders also a moving sense of process, or life as process—which finally is the burden of Ammons's weather reports.

I come back to those weather reports, for it seems to me most remarkable that a poet could make one wait breathlessly for another and then another. Yet this Ammons accomplishes, perhaps because he is a man as passionate about the weather as he is about the nature of the mind. I come back to these reports too because they serve still another function: they provide counterpoint to the more local concerns of the poem. Against the broad backdrop of nature's permanently changing landscape, Ammons flashes scenes of this

> nasty century! whose
> enlightenment
> fills the air with smoke,
> darkens the day

So it is that he gives measure of our cultural climate. He is in no way simplistic or propagandistic, however. His method is that of detailed observation accurately painted in words.

Yet another theme of the volume is words themselves, for words more than anything else give report of the cultural climate. Thus Ammons's innumerable word lists, as innumerable as his weather reports, with respect to which, indeed, the word lists seem contrapuntal. Take, for instance, a poem called "Hard Lard"—one of my favorites. It begins:

> Hard lard hard fact
> hard wind hard core
> hard ball hard time
> hard hard

and ends:

> hard fart hard tack
> hard ware hard sell . . .
> hard head hard boil

What a delight! And a measure, perhaps, of the vigor of our culture, or of its resources. But what do we make of this linguistic potential? The many snippets of contemporary speech in *The Snow Poems*—diction is Ammons's prime medium, and his ear is perfect—suggest vapidity and decay:

> when duh
> going git
> tough duh
> tough git
> gone man

The suggestion is that we abuse our cultural resources as much as our natural.

Still, the poem itself is evidence of what is possible yet—vis-à-vis both culture (words) and nature (the human spirit). As a whole, *The Snow Poems* is remarkably uplifting—remarkable first because Ammons is no goody-two-shoes slighting our existential dilemmas, and second because it appears at a time when our sense of poetry by and large seems tied to narrowly confessional bursts of despair. Not that Ammons is not confessional. But he is so in the way that Wordsworth is: through autobiography he reaches the deeper reservoir of our shared life. Out of the fragments of himself, that is, he creates the figure of Major Man, struggling toward affirmation in the face of falling hair and rotting teeth, of a landscape—beautiful however marred by our debris—oblivious to his musings, of the vagaries of the weather and of himself; a man who would "rather be the flaky/fool of hope/than the/smartass/of the/small and mean" (p. 6). Out of *The Snow Poems* emerges a portrait of the man we need, a man with a mind of winter finding it no bad place.

The Selected Poems (Norton, $7.95), strikes me in much the same way. Ammons's intent, I take it, was to suggest the major themes of the *Collected Poems* and, perhaps, to build yet another longish

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poem by the strategic juxtaposition of judiciously selected lyrics. Whether by intent or not, this is what Ammons has achieved. With its recurrence of persona (i.e., a figure named "Ezra," a would-be prophet repeatedly effaced by the elements) and of motif (e.g., the effacing wind), *The Selected Poems* takes on a direction and a coherence that make it much more than a simple anthology. I might note too that the three or four well known poems selected by Ammons ("Corsons Inlet," "The City Limits") gain new dimensions in this new context. My only complaint against *The Selected Poems* is its supreme modesty: it runs to 105 pages, as against the 391 pages of the *Collected Poems, 1951-1971* and however many pages have come since. I would have liked more for the sake of Ammons's reputation. But modesty is the mark of the man. And how refreshing in this most immodest of epochs to encounter such a quality, and such a man.

Unfailing insight

REVIEWING THE FORTIES

Diana Trilling

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, $9.95, 272 pp

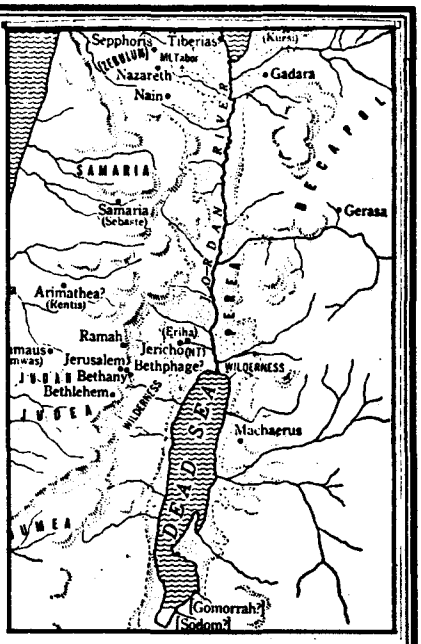
Nathan A. Scott, Jr.

IF ONE IS OF a sufficient age, to read the pieces that Diana Trilling has collected from her work as chief fiction reviewer for *The Nation* in the 1940s is to feel a certain nostalgic longing for that marvelous period of the journal's career when, under Freda Kirchwey's editorship, Clement Greenberg and James Agee, B. H. Haggin and Reinhold Niebuhr and Harold Laski, as its regular contributors, were giving it an authority approached by no other weekly of the time. And, amongst these figures, Mrs. Trilling earned an important place by virtue of the wit and intelligence and courtesy with which she scrutinized and evaluated the current fiction that came across her desk week after week. Indeed, the opportunity we now have of looking in bulk at what she did for *The Nation* must occasion some regret that over the last thirty years she has produced so little criticism, for her books—*Claremont Essays* (1964) and *We Must March, My Darlings* (1977)—are largely devoted to various sorts of readings of the *Zeitgeist*, of the "climate" of moral and political opinion; and too rarely has she consented to put her splendid critical gifts in the service of literary interpretation.

The present book does not have the weight and range of such similar collections, say, as Edmund Wilson's *The Shores of Light* and *Classics and Commercials*, or even of Alfred Kazin's *Contemporaries*. For *The Nation* normally allotted Mrs. Trilling hardly more than a page, and thus she had no chance for the spacious, leisurely estimate. Yet it was just her way of reckoning with this restriction that revealed her talent for the swift, central judgment of the essential drift of a career or of a particular book. And it is a brilliance of this kind which is most noticeable, as one moves through the ninety-some pieces that are here assembled.

A vast number of these reviews are devoted to books—Arnold Manoff's *Telegram from Heaven*, Betty Baur's *The White Queen*, Michael De Capite's *Maria*, Charles Mills's *The Choice*, Stephen Seley's *The Cradle Will Fall*—which had been quite forgotten a few months after their issuance and which now hold no significance for us at all. Many others are devoted to novels—such as Herman Wouk's *Aurora Dawn*, Ira Wolfert's *An Act of Love*, John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano*, Frederic Wakeman's *The Hucksters*, Betty Smith's *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*—which for a brief time in the forties carried a large appeal for the half-educated multitudes; and the stringent assessments of these books that Mrs. Trilling offers will some day need to be regarded as indispensable for whoever undertakes seriously to study popular literary tastes of this period.

It is, however, her discussions of the important writers and literature at the fore in the forties that claim our principal



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interest, and, here—whether she is discussing Saul Bellow's *Dangling Man* or Nabokov's *Bend Sinister* or Katherine Anne Porter's *The Leaning Tower* or George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*—her estimates are regularly shrewd and telling. She speaks, for example, despite his great fascination with Eastern mysticism, of the worldliness of sensibility at work in Christopher Isherwood's fine novel *Prater Violet*—a worldliness to which, as she suggests, he owes "the quickness and warmth" and the vital simplicity of his prose; and this, she insists, is a simplicity neither "heavy with condescension to the people it is used to describe" (in the manner of a Steinbeck) nor calculated to assert the author's superiority to his subject (in the manner of a Katherine Anne Porter). No, "it is the style of a free and generous intelligence most happily balanced between self-tolerance and tolerance of others." Or, again, in her account of Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*, she is struck by how much his Catholicism rests its appeals to faith "on the most familiar cynicisms of non-faith." And she remarks how much Eudora Welty's penchant for "fine" writing, in a book like *The Wide Net*, promotes a kind of "ballet . . . of words" which in turn "allows an author to sacrifice the meaning of language to its rhythms and patterns"—and this is sternly denominated as a mode of frivolous "insincerity." And it is such a faculty for rapid, exact definition that over and again distinguished the commentary Mrs. Trilling makes on the fiction of Elizabeth Hardwick and Robert Penn Warren and Isaac Rosenfeld and Jean Stafford and Elizabeth Bowen and numerous others.

One very gifted and very young critic who, in talking about her book, has wanted to sound a mild applause has suggested that the one occasion on which Mrs. Trilling succumbed to the great temptation afflicting reviewers "to overpraise out of sheer boredom" is marked by the warmth with which she speaks, as he says, of "someone named Isabel Bolton." Which makes a slightly amusing cavil, since it is precisely one of the distinctions of this book that it records an admiration for this wonderfully intelligent novelist whom, even now, Mrs. Trilling and the late Edmund Wilson are, so far as I know, the only commentators ever to have accorded the respect that was her due. The late Mary Britton Miller, using the pseudonym Isabel Bolton, published in her old age four remarkable books—*Do I Wake or Sleep, The Christmas Tree, Many Mansions,* and *Whirligig of Time*—which nobody seems to have discovered, and it is but another evidence of her perspicacity that, in reckoning with the first two, Mrs. Trilling immediately recognized Miss Bolton as one of the finest American novelists of her time.

In short, *Reviewing the Forties*, though lacking weight or any special kind of profundity, will, in its graceful prose and unfailing rectitude of insight, offer much the same kind of quiet pleasure that we are given by Virginia Woolf's *The Common Reader*. And it was a happy decision of Mrs. Trilling's to collect these fugitive pieces.

In brief

THE EUCHARIST AND HUMAN LIBERATION, *by Tissa Balasuriya, O.M.I., Orbis Books, $6.95, 171 pp.*

"Ecumenism in the sense of exchange of pulpits, visits by church leaders to each other, and beatings of breasts for the evils of the Reformation," writes this Sri Lankan (Ceylonese) theologian author, "will soon achieve its limited objectives. Repentance by Christians together for their whole historical complicity in the exploitation of the oppressed nations, classes, and sex is a more urgent and deeper requirement." It should be clear from this salvo, and from the fact that the book's publisher is Orbis, to which the world of English-speaking theology is so indebted, that the writer wishes to set certain populations free. "By the Eucharist," the normal *bien pensant* reader supposes, until it becomes clear that the author, a graduate of Oxford and the Gregorian University, has as a goal freeing Christian populations equally *from* the Eucharist. His thesis is that the final meal Jesus took with his friends, which looked forward to total human liberation, has been used over the ages as a means of social control: of women by men, of priests by bishops, of laity by clergy, and of the world's dispossessed by the world's possessors. He fears the situation will continue without end unless the evil is first identified as inimical to the Gospel, then halted on that ground.

Balasuriya has written an essay, not a documented study. His familiarity with the scholarship underlying pastoral worship and the theologies of church and ministry is, however, evident throughout. As a kind of bonus for Western readers, Chapters VIII and XI are devoted to the colonial pattern in Sri Lanka and the rhythm of festivals in that three-quarters Buddhist country. Political independence there since 1948 has seen a return of the Christian clergy to the Tamil and Sinhalese languages rather than the English and Latin of the colonizers (before that, Portuguese and Dutch). The period has likewise witnessed the fusion of the Catholic population into the Center-Left alliance of the Freedom Party and the Marxist parties. When the teaching of religion was made compulsory in the socialized schools, despite "certain disadvantages . . . the school takeover in a sense liberated the Christians to be less institutionalized and ghettoish."

The author seems to be a man without illusions and also of great faith. He has not written a tract on Christian life in a far corner of the world but as it is being experienced everywhere. The discussion of the alienation of Asian youth reminds one immediately of Harlem or Youngstown. The Catholic priest, honored in British times as one of the principal agents for the spread of English education, is now recognized by Sri Lankan youth as a man controlled and controllable in virtue of his largely cultic functions. This is immediately related to the fact that the Eucharist is perceived not as an agency of social change but of conservatism. That too is Anytown, U.S.A. Unless the Eucharist is seen as a permanent invitation to the followers of Jesus to build communities of unselfish love, the abuses of power endemic to socialist societies and the derogation of human rights under any political system will go

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unchallenged. Balasuriya gives as the reason for failure: "The eucharistic communities have in most countries been concerned with activities that did not help bring about effective long-term sharing based on changes in the structures of society."

Most calls for social reform by Christians fail to identify the complicity of the churches in the social institutions that need reform within the churches. This challenge is different. The central cultic rite and its custodians are seen as locked into oppressive systems that make impossible the service of priests or public ritual as liberating instruments of God's purpose.

There was a National Synod held in Sri Lanka in 1968 and 1969. Its Declaration on Christian Worship, quoted at length, is unexceptionable by the author's own rigorous standards. He notes laconically of this meeting that like Vatican II in matters of his concern: "It came and went. The National Synod was convoked, met, and passed into history. Its impact was minimal." That estimate provides a powerful parable for both hemispheres. The caretakers have already taken care.

GERARD S. SLOYAN

DAUGHTER OF IS *by Michael Davidson, Popular Library, $1.75, paper.*

Buoyed by visionary notions of Taoist Captain Aurelius Varuna, descendant of Aeneas and Indus Valley Brahmans, the 3rd millennium crew members of *Prometheus* coalesce into a "Tribe of Man" and "commit genesis." They jettison their terrestrial government's "lust to own" the resources of space, in favor of their missionary lust "to *be*," glossed to require the creative evolution of world and race attuned to Tao and the crew's tutelage as gods: "we go to chain the elements . . . with links of rationality."

Daughter of Is carries its readers, buoyed by interest in the clash between Varuna's "chlorophyll philosophy" and the "adrenalin mystique" of Earth's degenerate history, along on the quest: from discovery of a biopotential planet ("Mazda"), through Deluge-erasure of the fallen "Adamites"; growth of a second, more persistently matriarchal, race; crew schism that engenders the Mazdean version of chlorophyll-adrenalin conflict; a son-Savior's birth, genital-"crucifixion" and chemically-rigged resurrection; and, most critically, appearance of the prophetess who serves Mother Is, a power she claims encompasses that of her people's self-christened gods.

After so many epic-epochal successes and surprises (and so much narrative shorthand!) the mangods descend from their static time-line, their pseudo-immortality, to discover provocative ironies—Mazdean evolution toward true immortality beyond their gods' ken, the Tribe's subsequent enervation by death-wish—that bend the trajectories of both the story and Michael Davidson's futuristic theology toward awful climax.

If you can manage the hyper-supernatural suspension of disbelief necessary to survive this epic parable's elisions and summaries, its arbitrary sci-fi plot devices, Varuna's megalomania and his crew's hokey devotions, you'll probably enjoy the play of ideas (apropos of our own sub-Promenthean quests) as much as the history prof who invented this tale under an alias must have enjoyed letting his characters discuss and enact those ideas, his mind's children traveling within the allusive illusion of science fiction.

JOHN DRUSKA

Correspondence

(Continued from page 514)

psychologies in need of careful scrutiny. My thesis is simply that a philosophical approach will not reach enough people today.

I thank you for publishing "Liturgical Silence."

(REV.) THOMAS J. DOYLE, S.M.

Kelly misread

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: In his review of George Kelly's *The Battle for the American Church* [July 6] John Jay Hughes says that Kelly "calls the Eucharist 'a repetition of the sacrifice of the cross.' " The

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alleged statement of Kelly's is said to be "formally heretical," to reveal gross "ignorance," to make it difficult to trust the author.

But Kelly made no such statement at all. On p. 51 he indeed *mentions* the terrible phrase (prefixing it with a significant "not"). But what he is here doing is pointing out to the reader the positions of Hans Küng concerning the Eucharist (cf. *To Be a Christian*, p. 427). In no way does Kelly suggest that he wishes to adopt the precise contradictories of all the views that he reports! Hughes really ought to read a book more carefully before he makes such extreme charges. Indeed, he would be wise to reread Kelly's book for a great many reasons.

(REV.) RONALD D. LAWLER, O.F.M.CAP.
School of Philosophy
The Catholic University of America

Land mine of data

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: John Jay Hughes' review [July 6] of Msgr. George a. Kelly's *The Battle for the American Church* is unfortunate. Hughes does all he can to keep the potential reader from reading a most informative description of what is going on in the Catholic Church in America today. Here is a land mine of data concerning the confrontation in American Catholicism over revelation, the priesthood, the divine institution of the church, the papal primacy, the priesthood, the indissolubility of marriage, contraception and the church's role as teacher of nations.

Kelly's book is factual, perhaps too factual for Hughes. Otherwise how explain Hughes's list of vituperative adjectives? He manages in a page and a half of review to call Kelly's book "impossible," "tortured," "ludicrous," "ill-digested," "plain wrong," "heretical," "pre-conciliar," "deficient," "crippling," "regrettable," and, to sum up, open to "the derisive laughter of his foes."

Perhaps the expression "derisive laughter of his foes," best describes the underlying spirit of Hughes's review. He is painfully conscious of the main thesis of *The Battle for the American Church*, that "a guerrilla-type warfare is going on inside the church," that the issues at stake "are the correctness of Catholic doctrine and the survival of the Catholic Church as a significant influence in the life of her own communicants." (p. vii)

The problem is that Hughes identifies himself with those who are causing the church such anguish and are mainly responsible for the conflict. He criticizes Kelly for criticizing Hans Küng on the Eucharist. Hans Küng does not believe in the Real Bodily Presence of Christ in the Eucharist or in the Mass as a representation of Calvary. He criticizes Kelly for saying that the church makes statements declaring unchangeable truths. He criticizes Kelly for claiming that Christ gave the church an essentially unalterable structure, vested in the hierarchy and the papacy; whereas Hughes believes this is not so, what Christ actually gave was the Holy Spirit.

Hughes's basic stance is thus seen in his unwillingness (or inability) to see the church as both visible *and* spiritual, as both structured *and* supernatural. His difficulty is the familiar one of choosing in favor of a church of the Spirit and, in effect, denying that the true church, like Christ, is both human and divine.

A book as valuable as *The Battle for the American Church* deserves more objective treatment than John Jay Hughes gave it. American Catholics need to see the facts, and with God's grace have their faith strengthened by knowing the facts—no matter how painful the knowledge may be. Kelly's book offers such facts, which should not be ignored by doctrinaire reviews offered *Commonweal* readers under the captious title of "Good old days of Cardinal Spellman."

The situation is much too serious to dismiss it with a clever phrase or, worse still, deny the existence of a crisis by indulging in personal invectives.

(REV.) JOHN A. HARDON, S.J.

No nostalgia

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: As an associate of Monsignor George A. Kelly for the thirty-seven years of his priesthood, I find it difficult to understand why priestly appointments are germane to the story unfolded in his book *The Battle for the American Church*—except perhaps to prejudice *Commonweal* readers in advance against what he has to say and simply because he was once associated with Cardinal Spellman.

If his background is at all germane, it is not the one year (1966-67) as Cardinal Spellman's Secretary for Education, but his experience for more than twenty years as a very successful parish priest, including his appointment as Pastor by Cardinal Cooke (1970-74) to revitalize a New York City parish, a ministry of which John Jay Hughes does not seem to have heard.

In any event, as a pastor myself, I can assure *Commonweal* readers that the book has substance and that Monsignor Kelly has no "nostalgia for the good old days of Cardinal Spellman."

(REV. MSGR.) FRANCIS M. COSTELLO

Kelly on Hughes

Jamaica, N.Y.

To the Editors: One of the few relevant questions raised by Father Hughes about *The Battle for the American Church* [July 6] is this: Why no imprimatur? Answer: Because Doubleday did not ask for one. I discovered this to my sorrow shortly before publication. A hurried call to the New York censor (who was familiar with the book's approach) informed me that this kind of book did not require an imprimatur.

REVIEWERS

EDWARD PROFFITT *is himself a poet as well as associate professor of English at Manhattan College.*

JOHN LEO, *formerly an associate editor of* Commonweal, *is an associate editor of* Time Magazine.

DIANA CULBERTSON, O.P., *teaches Comparative Literature at Kent State University.*

NATHAN SCOTT, Jr., *teaches Religious Studies and English at the University of Virginia.*

FATHER GERARD S. SLOYAN *is professor of Religion at Temple University.*

JOHN DRUSKA *is a writer who currently teaches high school in Indianapolis.*

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Under those circumstances and because publication was already six months overdue, I let it go through. However, my position is that the present *imprimatur* rules are too lax. What many priests and religious now propose in books as Catholic teaching is not Catholic teaching at all. Non-theologian readers are entitled to some guarantees.

As for the rest of Father Hughes's intemperate misjudgments, I have little to say. Readers will make up their own mind. I am annoyed, too at discovering in a 150,000 word book the transposition of "Dom Gueranger" when "Dom Odo Casels" was there first, for having a former Apostolic Delegate given the "alias" "Acognani," the investiture of Dubuque priest Clarence Friedman in the Jesuit order, and two dozen other errors which have been brought to the attention of the publishers without Father Hughes's assistance.

(REV. MSGR.) GEORGE A. KELLY
St. John's University

The author replies:

In over a hundred published book reviews I have tried, wherever possible, to give information about the author's personal background. I regret that in this instance I permitted the inference (which is erroneous) that I was unaware of Msgr. Kelly's pastoral appointment, and I apologize for any injustice done him on this score.

I am unable to recognize my theological position in Father Hardon's lengthy caricature of it. Should he wish a point-by-point reply, he may have it when I am again able to deal with correspondence in October. He will find that the adjectives to which he takes exception were all carefully chosen to describe specific features of the book, for which I am prepared to give exact page references. Here I can simply say that my review, far from "denying the existence of a crisis" in the church, explicitly states that Kelly "deserves full credit for pointing out that the church's present crisis presents a unique opportunity for spiritual growth," and that "at its best the book is squarely on target."

Father Lawler defends Kelly from the charge of heresy for calling the Eucharist "a repetition of the sacrifice of the cross" by denying that Kelly says this. I write from a Trappist monastery without access to Kelly's book. But having read and reread it with the greatest care (as the markings on almost every page of my copy attest), I have the clearest recollection of the passage in question. Kelly there complains that Hans Küng holds the Eucharist to be merely a fellowship meal, "and not the repetition of the sacrifice of the cross." No fair-minded reader will doubt that such a sentence allows but one inference: in Kelly's view the Mass is such a repetition. I find it significant that Kelly himself does not complain of misrepresentation on this point; and that Father Hardon, in order to defend Kelly here, is forced to alter this language from "repetition" (which is heretical) to "re-presentation" (which is not).

Far from "identifying myself with those who are causing the church such anguish," as Father Hardon falsely charges, the review says that these people "deserve the severest condemnation," adding that "there can be few things more deserving of investigation and exposure today than the enormous amount of foolishness and outright chicanery in American Catholicism since the Council." It is my position that Msgr. Kelly has thrown away a golden opportunity by bungling a thoroughly worthwhile enterprise. The review gives a representative but far from complete list of the book's disqualifying defects. Others are listed in the only other review I have seen (Baltimore *Catholic Review* July 6, p. B-2), which however calls the book "the most complete statement of the conservative position in the church that has yet been written, or that is likely to be written for years to come." This is a misunderstanding. The true conservative position in the church today is represented by theologians like Joseph Ratzinger in Germany and Urs von Balthasar in Switzerland. It remains in this country without a worthy spokesman. My review reflected keen disappointment at seeing a position with which I largely identify so poorly served.

JOHN JAY HUGHES

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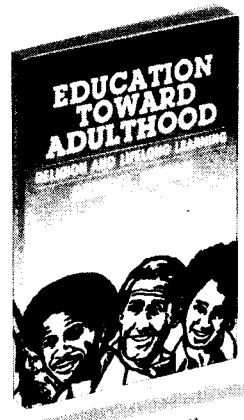

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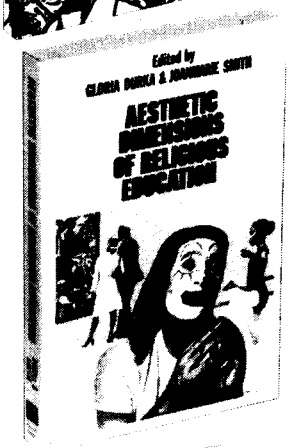

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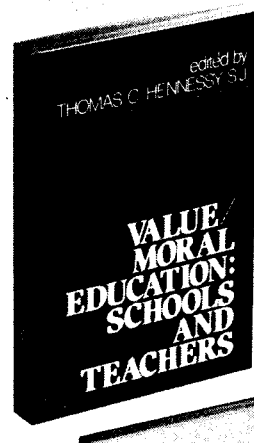

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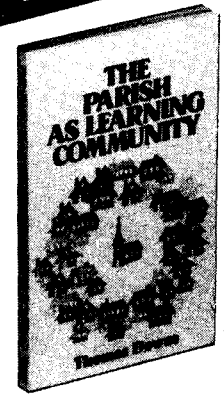

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